STUDIEN ZUR ENGLISCHEN PHILOLOGIE
HERAUSGEGEBEN VON LORENZ MORSBACH
VIII

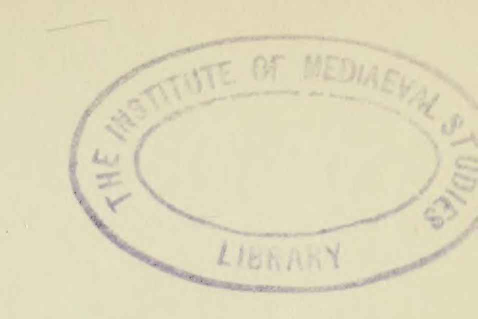
THE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY
ON THE
VOCABULARY OF OLD ENGLISH

BY

H. S. MAC GILLIVRAY, PH.D. (GOETTINGEN)

PART I (1ST HALF)

HALLE A. S.
MAX NIEMEYER
1902


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HEFT VIII

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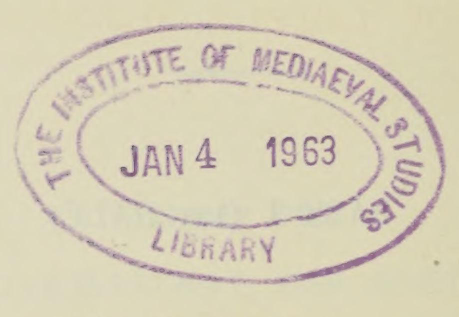
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PART I (1ST HALF)

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Dedicated

to

Professor Lorenz Morsbach, Ph.D.

Contents.

Preface.

In undertaking the present investigation of the vocabulary of the Anglo-Saxon language I have not been entirely without predecessors. Similar researches have been attempted by various scholars: Gothic has been treated by *Karl Weinhold* in the little pamphlet entitled „Die gotische Sprache im Dienste des Christentums,“ Halle 1870; Old High German, by *R. Raumer* in the third book of his „Die Einwirkung des Christentums auf die althochdeutsche Sprache,“ Stuttgart 1845; in late years, Old Norse, by *Bernhard Kahle* — „Die altnordische Sprache im Dienste des Christentums.“ I. Teil: Die Prosa. Acta Germanica I, 4. Berlin 1890. — The second part of this Essay appeared 1900 in Arkiv f. Nordisk Fil. N. F. 13 and bears the title: „Das Christentum in der altwestnordischen Dichtung,“ and in part also by *Taranger* in his work „Den Angelsaksiske Kirkes Inflydelse paa den Norske.“ Kristiania 1890.

In the field of English no work of this nature has, to my knowledge, as yet appeared.

The fact that my undertaking is no new one, but, on the contrary, has been preceded by similar works in related fields would seem greatly to lighten the accomplishment of the task. This supposition is also to a certain extent correct. Particularly in the dividing and grouping of the materials I have followed my predecessors Raumer and Kahle closely; in other respects, however, I soon saw myself compelled to adopt independent methods.

No one of the above cited authors had, to my mind, treated the theme anything like as exhaustively as the subject demanded. In the lists of words and expressions cited it was often hard to see precisely wherein the influence of Christianity consisted; and the reader was forced to a continual use of the dictionary to supply the deficiency.

Furthermore no trace of an exposition of the historical development of a word or expression within the language in question was to be observed; in short the entire treatment seemed to me much too brief and rudimentary.

Starting out with the intention of reading only the more important Anglo-Saxon monuments, I soon found it desirable for even a tolerably complete presentation of my subject to include within the scope of the investigation every work of any importance in the language. This, of course, much increased the bulk of preparatory work.

I had hoped to complete the whole as a dissertation; but have been compelled by the increased amount of the materials collected to abandon this purpose and publish at the present a work equal to about one third of the entire undertaking.

I trust to be enabled at a future date to complete the remaining parts of the work.

Part I. discusses the Church in its entirety; i. e. treats all words and expressions relating to the divisions of the human race, the departed members of the Church, secular and monastic clergy, ecclesiastical dress and revenues, ecclesiastical edifices, holy times and seasons, divine service, and the Bible. Part II. will discuss belief and whatsoever is connected therewith; e. g. various religious conceptions and abstract ideas, God, the Trinity, philosophical notions of the world, sin, penance, confession, etc.

For the second part much material has already been collected.

It has not been found advisable to treat prose and poetry separately, there being too few variations in the poetic usage from that of the prose; where such occur they have been noted.

In the first part the nature of the case demands that the prose element receive the greater prominence, while in the

parts to follow the poetic element will for the same reason be the more emphasized.

Wherever feasible I have, of course, made full use of such Latin and other texts as form the sources of the Saxon monuments. For the editions used the reader is referred to the alphabetical list of works.

With reference to borrowings the following is to be noted:

The main difficulty presented itself in the classification of those terms which were received into the language after the emigration to Great Britain and before the introduction of Christianity (450—600).

Since the appearance of Pogatscher's excellent work: „Zur Lautlehre der griechischen, lateinischen und romanischen Lehnworte im Altenglischen," Strassburg 1888, the question of the existence of a Brito-Roman dialect in the island of Great Britain after the withdrawal of the Romans appeared to be settled, the author's arguments in favor of the same seeming conclusive enough.

Of late, however, the problem has been revived and new light been thrown upon the question by the publication of a little work by a French scholar, M. Loth, entitled: „Les mots latins dans les langues brittoniques, etc.," Paris 1892.

Loth's conclusions are directly antipodal to Pogatscher's, his view being that the Latin language became extinct with the disappearance of the Roman legions from the island and that all borrowed words in O. E. bearing the evidence of the Romance sound-shift were later importations from the Continent.

A careful perusal of Loth's essay has led me to the conclusion that the existence of a special British-Roman dialect is, at best, very uncertain.

In his rejoinder („Angelsachsen und Romanen." Engl. Stud. XIX, p. 3 et seq.) to Loth's attack Pogatscher himself admits that it will not hereafter be admissible to refer to Britain as a thoroughly romanized province („Brittanien ist nie assimiliert worden; die lateinische Sprache ist dort nie Nationalsprache geworden."), but he — properly enough —

takes offence at the positiveness of his opponents' tone and thinks that many shades are possible between the non-existence of the Latin as the national tongue of the Britons and its entire non-existence among them, for instance among the inhabitants of the municipalities.[1])

Still, plausible as P.'s argument may seem,[2]) it proves merely the possibility of the existence, for a few generations, of a Romance dialect in the island of Britain. That such a dialect really existed is by no means proved; and as the presence of Romance borrowings in A.-S. is easily explained by the safer theory of importation from the Continent, we shall do best to designate them accordingly.[3])

A tabulation of my chief results will be found at the end of the work.

It is to be regretted that the scope of the undertaking has prevented me, for the present, from reaching definite results as to several questions of philological interest. Such questions as the following I hope to answer later:

What terms did the Anglo-Saxons alone possess?

Which did they receive, or might they have received from other languages?

Which did they probably give to other languages?

What would an agreement between the West Germanic languages and Old Norse indicate?

As regards citations, I have always given full lists of examples excepting only such instances where the word or expression was very frequent, in which cases a note to that effect has been inserted.

The marks of quantity, as far as the O. E. words are concerned, follow the rules laid down by Morsbach in his „Mittelenglische Grammatik“ (Vorwort, p. VIII).

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[1]) According to P. it was from the cities and towns that the conquerors drew their supply of Romance vocables.

[2]) Cf. also Sievers, Zum angelsächsischen Vocalismus. Leipzig 1900. p. 3 et seq. Morsbach.

[3]) The Christian-Latin borrowings existing in O. E. of this period exhibit no peculiarities which would call for a special Brito-Roman dialect. It is to be remembered, however, that the Romance dialects did not begin to be developed at all before the period referred to.

In conclusion it gives me great pleasure to acknowledge my obligations to the friends who by word and deed have aided in the accomplishment of my task. Especial gratitude is due to my honored teacher, Prof. Morsbach of the University of Goettingen, whose valuable advice has never failed me in the preparation of this little work. I am also indebted to Pres. William R. Harper of the University of Chicago for having courteously extended to me the use of the University libraries this summer; and I feel sincerely grateful to my friends Dr. Heinrich Spies and Dr. Fritz Roeder who have undertaken the arduous task of correcting the proofs.

Mc Clellanville S.C.
September, 1900.

H. S. Mac Gillivray.

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The Principal Abbreviations.[1]

Anc. Laws, Thorpe's Ancient Laws and Institutes etc.
Ap., Fata Apostolorum in Grein's Sprachschatz = Die Schicksale der Apostel in Gr.-Wl.
App., Appendix in Schmid's Gesetze etc.
Ass., Assmann's Angelsächsische Homilien etc.
Ass. (Æ), Pieces by Ælfric in Assmann's Angelsächs. Homilien etc.
Ælfr., Ælfred, Ælfred's Ges., Laws of King Ælfred in Liebermann.
Ælfr. Gr., Grein's Ælfric de Vetere et Novo Test. etc.
Ælfr. Hom., Homilies of Ælfric in Thorpe's Homilies of the Anglosaxon Church.
Ælfr. Past., Ælfric's Pastoral in Thorpe's Ancient Laws etc.
Ælfr. Epis., Ælfric's Epistle entitled 'Quando dividis Chrisma' in Thorpe's Anc. L. etc.
Æthelb., Laws of King Æthelbirht in Liebermann.
Æthelr., Laws of King Æthelred in Liebermann.
Æthelst., Laws of King Æthelstan in Liebermann.
Bede, Miller's edition.
Ben. R., Schröer's Die Ags. Prosabearbeitung der Benedictinerregel.
Ben. R. Log., Logeman's Rule of St. Benet.
Bl., Blick., Blick. Hom., Morris's Blickling Homilies etc.
Boet. Sedgef., Sedgefield's Boetius.
Bos. Toll., The Anglo-Saxon Dictionary of Bosworth-Toller.
Bout., Bouterwek's Angelsächsische Glossen.

[1]) Abbr. of poetical pieces as in Grein's Sprachschatz, only those being given in above list whose titles differ from Grein-Wülker.

Can. Ælfr., The Canons of Ælfric in Thorpe's Ancient Laws etc.
Can. Edg., The Canons of Edgar in Thorpe's Ancient Laws etc.
Cart. Sax., De Gray Birch's Cartularium Sax. etc.
Chad, Napier's Ein altengl. Leben des Hl. Chad.
Chr., Chron., Plummer's two of the Saxon Chronicles etc.
Cn., Laws of Cnut in Liebermann.
Cod. Dipl., Kemble's Codex Diplomaticus etc.
Con. Ecgb., Confessionale Ecgberti in Thorpe's Ancient Laws etc.
Cook, Cook's Glossary etc.
Ct., Charters in Sweet's Oldest Eng. Texts.
De C. M., Logeman's De Consuetudine Monachorum.
Defen., Defens., Defensor's Liber Scintill. etc. by Rhodes.
De Reg. Con. Zup., Zupitza's Ein weiteres Bruchstück der Regularis Con. etc.
D. Rit., Stevenson's Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelm. etc.
Deut., Deuteronomy in Grein's Ælfric de Vetere et Novo Test. etc.
Eccl. Inst., Ecclesiastical Institutes in Thorpe's Ancient Laws etc.
Edg., Laws of Edgar in Liebermann.
Edm., Laws of Edmund in Liebermann.
Edw., Eadw., Eadward's Laws in Liebermann.
Edw. (Eadw.) u. Guthr., (Laws of Edward and Guthrum in Schmid) 'Eadward's Gesetz nach Erwerbung von Guthrum's Gebiet' in Liebermann.
Exod. (Ex.) Gr., Exodus in Grein's Ælfric de Vetere et Novo Test. etc.
Fata Ap., Fata Apostolorum in Grein's Bibliothek = Die Schicksale der Apostel in Grein-Wülker.
Gr., Grein, Grein's Sprachschatz etc.
Gr.-Wl., Grein-Wülker's Bibliothek der Ags. Poesie etc.
Grd.[2], Grundriss, Paul's Grundriss der German. Philologie.
Hom., Thorpe's Homilies etc.
Hy. (= 'Hymnen und Gebete' in Grein's Sprachschatz).
I—IV = Gebete I—IV in Gr.-Wl.
Hy. V—VII = Vater unser in Gr.-Wl.
Hy. VIII = Hymnus in Gr.-Wl.
Hy. IX = Gloria in Gr.-Wl.
Hy. X = Glaubensbekenntnis in Gr.-Wl.
Hy. XI = Bruchstück eines Lehrgedichtes in Gr.-Wl.
Jne, Ine's Laws Liebermann.

Inst. Pol., Institutes of Polity in Thorpe's Ancient Laws etc.
Jo., *Joh.*, Gospel of John in Skeat.
Lev., Leviticus in Greins Ælfric de Vetere etc.
Lind., Lindisfarne (Northumbrian) Gospels in Skeat.
Lives, Skeats Ælfric's Lives of the Saints.
Lk., Gospel acc. to Luke in Skeat.
Men., Menologium in Grein's Bibliothek = Heiligenkalender in Gr.-Wl.
Mk., *Mt.* (*Math.*), Gospel acc. to Mark, Matthew, in Skeat.
Nicod., Hulme's O. E. Gospel of Nicodemus etc.
North. Priestergesetz, in Schmid.
O. E. T., Sweet's Oldest English Texts.
Oros., Sweet's King Alfred's Orosius.
Oxf. Dict., Murray's New Engl. Dictionary etc.
Past., *Past C.*, Sweets King Alfred's West Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care.
Poen. Ecgb., Poenitentiale Ecgberti in Thorpe's Ancient Laws etc.
Pog., Pogatscher's Zur Lautlehre etc.
Rush., *Rushw.*, Rushworth Gospels in Skeat.
Sat., Christ & Satan in Gr. = Die Klage der gefallenen Engel, Christi Höllenfahrt etc., Versuchung Christi in Gr.-Wl.
VH, Vespasian Hymns in Sweet's O. E. T.
VP, Vespasian Psalter in Sweet's O. E. T.
Wiht., Laws of Wihtræd in Liebermann.
Wr.-Wl., Wright-Wülker's A-S. and O.E. Vocabularies.
Wulf., Napier's Wulfstan etc.

Historical Sketch.

About 148 years after the first band of Saxon invaders had landed at Thanet on the island of Britain, the monk Augustine, starting from the same point, commenced a spiritual conquest of the conquerors that in its way was no less remarkable, decisive, and weighty for the inhabitants, of the island, than had been their material and political subjugation a century and a half before.

The religion of Jesus with its doctrine of love, humility, and their sequel: subordination to priestly authority, was about to supplant a sterner creed of revenge, personal dauntlessness, and freedom from hierarchical rule. Christ was to conquer Wodan; the Twilight of the Gods had begun for England.

The landing at Thanet took place in the year of our Lord 597. In a comparatively brief time Kent was, superficially at least, christianized; and Augustine and his followers were free to push the foreposts of the Gospel further north.

The year 627 saw the conversion of King Eadwine of Northumbria by Paulinus, a zealous monk in the following of Augustine.

The most tenacious resistance to the new religion was offerred by Mercia, whose King Penda (626—655) heroically upheld the dying cause of heathendom during his entire reign. Both Eadwine and his successor to the Northumbrian throne fell in battle against him.

This memorable war of religions came to an end upon the bloody field of Winwoed (655), in which the aged defender of the gods was routed and slain by the Northumbrian king Oswi. During the profound peace which followed, Mercia was organized into a bishopric and given into charge of Ceadda — St. Chad — a monk of Lindisfarne, a famous foundation of the Irish church.

This brings us to the struggle for supremacy between the Roman and Irish hierarchies.

Ireland had long before been christianized by the labors of St. Patrick (about 432). Hardly half a century after his decease the Irish church began to send forth missionaries to all parts of continental Europe and even to the Picts and Scots of northern Britain.

The work of these first Irish monks should not be underestimated: for it was they who prepared the ground and strewed the first seeds of Christianity in the pathway of our Germanic forefathers, which were destined, later on under the more systematic cultivation of Rome, to bring forth such rich fruitage.

To the philologist the activity of these pioneers of the Gospel has a peculiar interest, since there can be no doubt that much of the religious and ecclesiastical terminology of the languages of Europe entered them through the medium of the early missionaries of Ireland.

Unfortunately this influence is of such a nature, philologically speaking, that we are often unable to determine positively which terms are Celtic and which are due to later evangelization.

Thus, for instance, O.E. *crīst,* Christ, which has generally been considered as derived from a Celtic source, is now assigned by Kluge (Paul's Grundriss, 2nd Ed. I, p. 359 „Anmerkung".) to Romance-Latin *Crīstus.*

The point from which the Irish Church sent forth its evangelists among the inhabitants of Britain was Jona, a cloister founded by Columba on the western coast of Scotland.

A monk of this institution Aidan, undertook the conversion of the Northumbrians, and received from their king Oswald the island of Lindisfarne for his see. From the monastery here founded zealous propagandists poured forth to the adjacent heathen, both Mercians and Northumbrians, Bishop Aidan himself taking a most prominent part.

After Christianity had become firmly established by the death of Penda (655), monasteries modelled on the Irish plan sprang up in great numbers throughout the North.

Soon, however, the young Church of the North was rent by the struggle between Ireland and Rome. This conflict continued until the year 664, when King Oswi at the Great

Council of Whitby decided for the supremacy of Rome. This ended the activity of the Irish church in England: Colman and his entire following of English and Irish monks deserted Lindisfarne and returned to Jona.

The Conversion of the Continent and Skandinavia.

It will perhaps be of considerable assistance to the reader to have brought before him, for the sake of comparison, the most prominent facts concerning the conversion of the other Germanic tribes.

The conversion of Germany to Christianity is inseparably joined to the name of the Anglo-Saxon church and St. Boniface.

Yet, even before the advent of the great „apostle of the Germans" many echoes of the Gospel and its adherents had penetrated the gloomy wilds of Germany: the conversion of the Goths by Bishop Ulfilas (ob. 381?) over three centuries before Boniface had been the means by which the other German tribes had acquired a rude conception of the Christian religion; for at this time a small though highly important quota of words relative to the new faith entered their language. Thus O.H.G. *Krist* (but not O.E. *crīst*!),[1] Christ, and O.E. *cirice*, Church, bear the stamp of Greek, i. e. Arian (Gothic) origin. Cf. also Kossinna, „Zur Gesch. d. Volksnamens Griechen" in the „Festschrift für Weinhold", Strassburg 1896, p. 39.

Of active missionary work among the Germans, however, almost nothing is known until the 6th century, when the Irish church began to send missionaries into South and Central Germany.

The most famous names connected with this mission are those of Saint Fridolin (ob. 530), Columbanus (ob. 615), Gallus (ob. 640) and Kilian (ob. 688).

At this point the Franks took up the work. The bishops Ruprecht of Worms (690—696), Emmeran of Poitiers (ob. 716) and others labored with success in northern Austria and Bavaria.

But to have placed the struggling Church of Germany upon a firm and lasting foundation and to have completed the

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[1]) Cf. Note to § 19 Morsbach.

conversion of the country was the merit firstly of the English Church and secondly — as regards the Saxons, at least — of Charles the Great.

Willebrord of Northumbria and Boniface of Wessex are the two names chiefly associated with the labors of the A.-S. Church in Germany. The former, born about the year 658, won considerable successes among the Frisians; but the ceaseless war in which that fierce people were engaged rendered his work for the most part vain.

More enduring was the life-work of his successor Boniface (born about 682). Commissioned by Popes Gregory II. and III. for the undertaking, he succeeded, after a series of brilliant campaigns, in winning the bulk of the Germans over to Christ. His magnificent administrative abilities were then (738) displayed in the organisation of the German Church, which he carried forward with preeminent success to its conclusion.

Made Archbishop of Mayence in 747, his invincible energy refused to be chilled by a sedentary life; and so we find him once more (753) actively pushing his missionary work among the Frisians. Here he suffered martyrdom at the hands of the heathen on the 5th of June, anno 754. The last of the German tribes to accept Christianity was the Saxons, whose conversion succeeded about half a century later, upon their subjugation (772—803) by Charlemagne.

The conversion of the Skandinavian tribes took place at a much later date than that of the other Teutonic nations. The Gospel made but slow and halting advances in the face of resisting heathendom.

For this reason much of the language and literature of the heathen Norsemen has been preserved to us intact, while scarcely any traces of the heathen literature of their brethren, the Germans and the English have been handed down. Hence the unique position which the Norse tongue and Norse literature occupy in Teutonic history.

As far as the religious-ecclesiastical element of O.N. is concerned, it should be noted that it is, to a great extent, borrowed from, or moulded after, the terminology of those German tribes that, preceding the Skandinavians in their con-

version, were thereby enabled to play to the latter the rôle of evangelists.

This applies as well to the Germans of the Continent as to the Anglo-Saxons. The influence of the former was exerted chiefly in the earlier periods of the conversion, that of the A.-S. chiefly towards its close when the political relations of Denmark and England had become intimate.

The Irish Church also exerted quite an important influence in Norway, frequent communication between Ireland and that country being established through the medium of merchants and marauding Vikings.

Without entering more nearly into the history of the conversion of the Skandinavian countries, I have added a few of the most important data containing, I trust, all that will be necesssary for a full comprehension of the following pages.

	A. D.
First missionary journey to the North. (Denmark) by the A.-S. Willibrord	700
Archbishop Ebo of Rheims and Bishop Halitgar of Cambray sent by Lewis the Pious preach to the Danes. Danish king Harald baptized at Mayence . . .	826
The monk Anskar („Apostle of the Skandinavians") returns from a successful missionary journey to Sweden and becomes Bishop of Hamburg	831
Anskar shows great ability as an evangelist and organizer. Wins Denmark and Sweden for Christ. Dies. . .	865
Progress of the Mission under Archbishops Unni and Adaldag	918—988
King Hakon the Good calls A.-S. missionaries to Norway and establishes Christianity by law. Hakon dies. .	961
King Olaf Tryggvason enforces Christianity with the sword. Olaf slain	1000
King Olaf Haraldson powerfully advances the work of his predecessors and brings it to completion. Dies.	1030

Part I.

The Church.

Chapter 1.

Divisions of the Human Race.

§ 1. The sacrament of baptism separates, as the chief external characteristic, the Christians from the non-Christians; i. e. from a) the Jews and b) the heathen.

Jews.

In rendering Lat. *Judaeus,* pl. *Judaei* there is considerable variation in O. E.; we find strong as well as weak, popular as well as learned, forms.

The following list will illustrate:

§ 2. A favorite mode of designating sect or nationality in O. E. is by the use of adjectives, or substantive adjectives, ending in *-isc.*

Thus the Hebrews are denoted by the phrase *„ðæt Ebrēisce folc."* Ælfric Hom. I, 24; 11; cf. also *Ebr(ē)isc,*[1] *Ebr(ē)isc ȝeðīod,* the Hebrew tongue:

gehāten Galað on Ebrēisc. Past. 367; 5. *on Ebrēisc geðīode,* „in Hebrew." Past. 6; 1.

Past. 205; 7 the Hebrews are called *„ðā Ebrēas,"* corresponding to" *(ðā) Jūdēas,"* the Jews (vid. below).

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[1]) For *Ebrisc* by the side of *Ebrēisc* see *Iudisc,* § 3 Note 2.

The Hebrews as *„Israel,“* „the Children of Israel,“ etc.

The following expressions are recorded:

„Israhēl“ (Lat. *Israel*) str. m., or the plur. *„Israhēle,“ -a, -um*:

Nāt ic þone Drihten, and ic Israhēl ne forlǣte. Hom. II, 192; 16. Similar: 192; 15, 29. 212. 10. 222; 14. 230; 7, etc.

swā swā sē éalda Israhēl nēadunge hēold (sc. *godes gelaðunge*) *on hæftnunge.* Hom. II, 86; 3.

sē heretoga Jēsus gelǣdde þone éaldan Israhēl tō þām éarde ðē him behāten wæs. Hom. II, 214; 26. Further: 218; 25, 264; 28, etc.

hē forget ðone frēondscipe wið Israhēle („towards the Israelites“). Past. 423; 16 (No Lat.).

be ðǣre Israhēla ðēode. Hom. II, 86; 6. II, 194; 6, etc.

mid Israhēla cynne, „among the tribe of the Israelites“. Bl. 7; 8. Wulf. 49; 5.

Israhēla folc, „the people of Israel.“ Hom. II, 84; 31, etc. Wulf. 198; 15. 210; 14. Oros. 38. Past. 89; 19 (*„domus Israhel“*), etc.

ðæt Israhēla folc. Hom. II, 114; 12. 190; 33, etc.

Israhēla béarn, „the Children of Israel,“ *filii Israel.* Exod. Gr. 12; 35, 40, 41, 42. 13; 19, etc. Wulf. 210; 20, 22 and frequently. Past. 79; 5, 6.

his míldhéortnes is mycel on Israhēlum. Bl. 7; 6 similar, 11; 18.

ic ðē gesette eallum Israhēlum tō hēafde, „caput in tribubus Israel.“ Past. 113, 9.

In conclusion are to be noted the two derivatives of *„Israhēl“* in *-isc*:

1) *Israhēlisc*: *ðæt Israhēlisce folc, „filios Israel“.* Exod. Gr. 9; 35. 11; 7. 12; 33, 34, etc. Wulf. 174; 17, and several others.

2) *Israhēlitisc.* My sole illustration is from Wulf. 198; 21: *ðæt Israhēlitisc folc, „filiorum Israel.“*

This termination *-isc,* Common German. *-isk,* signifies „pertaining to,“ „belonging to.“ Cf. Ger. *„deutsch,“* O. H. G. *diut-isk,* „belonging to the people,“ „popular“ (*diut, deot,* „the people“). Particulars in Skeat, „Principles of English Etymology“ I, 271 et seqq., and more extensively, Wilmanns,

Deutsche Grammatik[2] II, § 355 et seq. Cf. also Kluge, Grd.[2] I, S. 472.

§ 3. The Jew, singly, is either „*Jūdēisc man*", or simply „*Jūdēisc*", rarely *Jūdēus*; on the other hand the plural shows a great variety of forms; viz.: *Jūþēas, iūðēas, ʒiūðēas, iūdēas* (*iūdǣas*), *ðā jūdēas, ðā jūdēiscan men, ðā jūdēiscan*; *ðā Jūdēan, Jūdan, Jūðan,* finally the learned „*Jūdēi*", of which Ælfric seems especially fond. The normal form for all periods of O. E. seems, however, to be *Jūdēas, ðā Jūdēas.*

Note 1 on the forms.

Nearly all forms, apart from the purely learned, are native constructions from the Lat. stem *judae-* (*jude-*).

For those with the dental spirant *þ, ð,* cf. Pogatscher § 328 et seqq., where the phenomenon is confirmed for many words of Greek and Latin origin. This aspirated pronunciation of Gr.-Lat. *d* is probably due to Greek influence; although the influence of continental O. F. is, perhaps, possible. Cf. Pogatscher's deductions.[1])

Note 2. On a stem *jūd-*, instead of *jūde-*, corresponding precisely to the German (O. H. G. *judeo, judo*; *judeisc, judisk*) *Jūdan* and *jūdisc* are formed. In the same manner we find occasionally *ebrisc* for *ebrēisc*.

Note 3. Forms with *ð*.

„*ʒiūþēa*" gen. plur. *Hēr feʒtaþ Titus end ʒiūþēa*[*sumæ*] according to Bradley's suggestion (cf. Napier, The Franks Casket, Oxford 1900 p. 11); on the inscription we read *ʒuþeasu.* (Time beginning of the 8. century).

„*iūðēas*" is to be deduced from the form contained in Lind. Lk. 10; 33: *ēode tō iūðēos, „exuit ad judaeos;"* and from the gen. pl. „*iūðēana*" Lind. Joh. 19; 42, dat. pl. „*iūðēum*" Lind. Joh. 19; 40, acc. pl. *iūðēos* Lind. Joh. 18; 38.

Examples.

Singular.

iūdisc mann furtumatus. Nap. Ae. Kl. 1; 34.

ðū eart iūdēisc and ic eom samaritānisc wīf, „tu iudaeus." Joh. 4; 9; similar Joh. 18; 35.

ic iūdisc am. Joh. Rush. 18; 35. *ðū iūdisc . . . arð.* Joh. Rush. 4; 9.

ic am iūdēus. Joh. Lind. 18; 35. *ondsworade him iūdēus, responderunt iudaei* (surprising; sing. for plur.). Rush. Joh. 19; 7.[2])

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[1]) [Cf. Kluge, Zeitschrift f. rom. Philol. XX, 325. Morsbach.]

[2]) A weak sing. „*sē Jūda,*" corresponding to the plur. „*Jūdan,*" „*ðā Jūdan,*" I have been unable to locate.

Plural.

þǣra jūdēiscra manna gelēaflēasnys. Wulf. 294, 2.

ðā cwǣdon þā Jūdēiscan. Ælfric. Herrig's Archiv Vol. 101, p. 314; 4.

hē hēt ofslēan ealle ðā Jūdiscan men. Oros. 266, 15.

ūres Hǣlendes . . . ðe ðā Jūdēiscan ofslōgon. Ælfric T. 3; 37.

ðā cwǣdon ðā Jūdēas. Joh. 5; 10. Similar: Ass. XVI, 51, 59, etc. Wulf. 22; 22. 182; 15 (B). 184; 4. Past. 207; 8. 443; 14. Ælfric's Past. 51 p. 463. Joh. 1; 19. 2; 18, etc. Mt. Lind. p. 15; 14. Nicod. 471, 14, etc.

Jūdēas hine āhēngan on rōde. Bl. 73, similar Bl. 177; 13, etc. Past. 33; 14. 150; 20. 443; 3. Can. Edg. 39 p. 398. Mk. (W. S. and Rush.) 7; 3. Joh. 4; 9. Rush. Joh. 5; 16, etc.

iūdǣas, Rush. Joh. 19; 31. Lind. Joh. p. 5; 3 (Note).

þǣr wæs Jūdēa ofslagen XIIIM, tredecim ibi millia Judaeorum. Oros. 238; 12, similar Ælfric T. 8; 37, etc. Oros. 266; 16 (C). Past. 355; 5, etc. Bl. 67; 4, etc. Wulf. 14; 4. Mk. 15; 26, et passim in all versions.

æt ðām Jūdēum. Hom. II, 592; also Ass. XVI, 33, 168, 294. Bl. 15; 32, etc. Wulf. 198; 324. Past. 101; 6. 241; 6. Lind. Joh. p. 3; 4. p. 5; 12. 3; 25. 4; 22. Lind. Mt. 28; 15. Rush. Joh. 3; 25. 4; 22; 54, etc. Nicod. 472, 32. 478, 11, 22, etc. Past. 315; 24. 403, 31.

„iūdǣum,“ Lind. Joh. p. 6; 9.

Jūdēi ðā . . . hēoldon heora ēaran. Ælfric Hom. I, 46; 32.

ðā Jūdēi lǣddon Crīst æt sumum sǣle tō ānum clife. Hom. II, 236; 32; also Hom. II, 248; 12. 250; 16, etc. Ass. Ælfr. VI, 74. Mk. Lind. 7; 3. Joh. Rush. 2; 18.

The weak forms are found in the following passages: *ealle ðā Jūdan, „Judaeos,“* Oros. 260; 21; similar 262; 23. 266; 1, 16.

On þǣm dagum cōm ēac godes wracu ofer Jūþan, „Judaei.“ Oros. 256; 34.

The remaining illustrations all occur in the North. or the Merc.; viz.:

cynig iūdeana, rex iudaeorum. Lind. Mk. 15; 9, 12, 18. Lind. Lk. 23; 3, 37, 38. Rush. Lk. 23; 38, and quite frequently, besides, in Lind. and Rush. D. 58; 13. *cynig iūdana.* Rush. Lk. 23; 3.

The Jewish Sects.

The Pharisees.

§ 4. The Anglo-Saxons called the Pharisee *Fariseisc, Fariseisc mon, sē Fariseisca* (*Phar-*), *Farisēus* (*Phar-*); in the plur. *Farisēas* (*Phar-*) and *Farisēi* (*Phar-*), *Fariseisce, ðā Fariseiscan* (*Phar-*). In late O. E., in addition to the above, the term *súnder-hālga* (*súndor-h.*), *„phariseus,"* is much in vogue.

Special dialectical expressions for „Pharisee" are given below, see § 5.

Note 1. The expression *„súnder-hālga"* must be considered as a learned rendition of *„Phariseus"*: *Phariseus* signifies literally *„divisus," „separatus,"* from Heb. *„Phares," „divisio,"* separation.

Very nearly approaching the O. E. is the O. H. G. expression *„suntirlebin," pharisaei*, with which cf. also O. E. *„súndor-génga," „singularis,"* „one who goes apart." Bl. 199; 5.

Illustrations.

ða bæd hine sum fariseisc man. Lk. 11; 37.

sum Phariseisc man, „homo ex pharisaeis." Joh. 3; 1.

ic . . . eom Fariseisc, „ego Pharisaeus sum." Past. 362; 3.

intō ðæs fariseiscan hūse, domum pharisaei. Lk. 7; 36; similar, Lk. 11; 38.

ðā bōceras and Fariseisce, „the scribes and Pharisees." Mt. 15; 1.

ðā Fariseiscean. Mt. 15; 12. (*Phar-* Mt. 22; 34, 41.)

We find *„fariseisc"* used as a simple adj. in Bout. 436. Aldh., Giles p. 18): *ðǣre fariseiscere æfstnunge, „pharisaicae temptationis."* [1])

bōcera heora and fariseas, „pharisaei". Mt. Rush. 7; 29; similar, 12; 14, 24, 38. 15; 1, 12. 16; 1. 19; 3. 22; 15, 41. 23; 2. 13, 15, 23. 27; 62.

farisseas. Mt. Rush. 23; 25.

swā dydon Fariseos. Past. 59; 20.

ðā Farisseos gelīefdon, „pharisaei." Past. 363; 6; very similar, Rush. Mt. 21; 45. 22; 34 (*fariseos*).

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[1]) [Cf. Aldhelm Glosses (in Old Engl. Gloss. Napier, An. Ox.) 1259 f. *þǣre fariseiscre costnunge, „farisaicę temptationis".* Morsbach.]

from ðā biscopas and fariseos. Rush. Joh. 18; 3.

þǣra phariseā. Joh. 7; 48. 12; 42. Mk. 8; 15.

iohannes léorningcnihtas . . . and ealswā fariseā. Lk. 5; 33; similar, Lk. 12; 1. Mt. Rush. 3; 7. 16; 11, 12.

ðæt folc fariseō, „pharisaeorum.“ Past. 360; 25. *ðæt folc Phariseō.* Past. 361; 25.

æt ðām phariseum. Hom. II, 246; 8.

mid sumum phariseum. Hom. II, 412; 25; also Mk. 12; 13.

tō ðām phariseon. Joh. 7; 45. 9; 13. 11; 46. 18; 3.

Note 2. *fariseo* in Past. probably stands for *fariseorum*, the abbreviation for *„rum“* having been omitted by the scribe.

Also in *„fariseos“* we have, quite probably, a learned inflexion; for 1) we find, to my knowledge, the ending *-os* in no genuine O. E. words, and 2) analogous cases occur in which *-os* performs the functions of an acc., and *-i* of a nom. or even a dat. plur., but only in learned words of Latin origin. Vid. under *„discipul.“*

Note 3. An unusual form is the nom. plur. *„farissǣis“* : *farissǣis ðā cwēdun, Pharisaei dixerunt.* Mt. Rush. 12; 2.

Note 4. A single passage contains the weak sing. *„farissēa“* : *ðū farissēa!* Mt. Rush. 23; 26.

The learned forms are for the most part peculiar to Late O. E.: *Ðā stōd sē fariseus.* Lk. 18; 11.

ðū blínda Phariseus! Mt. 23; 26; very similar, Past. 312; 5.

Note 5. *„fariseus“* is found once as an uninflected genitive: *on ðæs fariseus hūse.* Lk. 7; 37.

ðā ongunnon phariseī . . . Hom. II, 298; 27.

þā wǣron . . . Phariseī fæstende. Mk. 2; 18; elsewhere, 2; 24. 3; 6, etc. Mt. 21; 45. 23; 2, 13, 15, 23, 25, 27, 29.

Farisǣi. Mt. 19; 3.

ðā Phariseī. Mk. 8; 11. Joh. 4; 1. 7; 32 (2×), 47. 8; 3, 13, etc. Mt. 22; 15.

ðā fariseī. Lk. 5; 17. Mk. 2; 16, etc.

fariseī. Rush. Mt. 9; 11, 14. Mt. 16; 1. Ass. (Æ) V, 2.

iohannes léorning-cnihtas and phariseorum, „discipuli iohannis et pharisaeorum.“ Mk. 2; 18.

fram beorman Fariseōrum. Mt. 16; 6.

súnder-hālga (súndor-):

ān súnder-hālga. Hom. II, 420, 34.

ðā súnder-hālgan. Hom. II, 420, 2.

bōceras and súndorhālgan, „scribae eorum et pharisaei. Mt. 7; 29.

Further *súnder-hālga*: Hom. II, 422; 3, 10. 470; 6. 472; 1. Hom. I, 338; 11. II, 216; 26. 428; 3, 15. 430; 11, 34. Ass. (Æ) V, 2 (Ms. S[1]).

Defens. 75; 2. 203; 2. 206; 3.

súndor-hālga: Lk. 6; 2. 7; 30, 36, 39. 18; 10. Joh. 1; 24. Mt. 3; 7. 5; 20. 7; 29. 9; 11, 14, 34. 12; 14, 24, 38. 27; 62.

Terms peculiar to the Northumbrian and Mercian.

§ 5. The North.-Merc. presents a number of native expressions for Pharisee, which are wanting in the remaining O. E. dialects. We are here concerned with the following:

1. *ǣ-lāruw* (*lāruu*), „Teacher of the Law," *„pharisaeus,"* from *ǣ, ǣw,* (O. H. G. *êwa*), „Law" i. e. here the Law of the Hebrews, and *lāruw,* „teacher" (*lār* f., doctrine, instruction, + *ðēow,* servant; cf. *lāttēow,* leader, < *lād* + *ðēow,* and vid. Sievers, Gram.[3] § 43, Anm. 4):

ðā ǣ-lārwas, „pharisaei." Lind. Mk. 8; 11, 15. 9; 11. 10; 2. 12; 13. Lk. p. 5; 5, 14. 7; 3, etc. in Mk. Lk. Joh.

Rush.: *ðāra ǣ-lārwa, „pharisaeorum."* Mk. 8; 15. 9; 11. 12; 13. Joh. 9; 15. 11; 46, 47. 12; 19.

Note. Very nearly approaching this word, but probably used only in a literal sense, is the expression *„ǣ-lǣrend"*, found but once (El. 506): *hē wæs sanctus Paulus . . . him nǣnig wæs ǣlǣrendra ōðer betera,* „no better teacher of the Law."

In Rush. the compound occurs resolved into its component parts, and with inflected *ǣ*:

ðā ǣs lārwas, „pharisaei." Joh. 7; 32 (2×), 45, 47, 48. 8; 3. 9; 13, 16, 40. 12; 42.

2. Simply *„lārwas,"* plur. „teachers" (sc. of the Law):

ðā lārwas, „pharisaei." Rush. Mk. 8; 11. 10; 2.

3. *ðā áeldo, ǽldo, ǽldu, áldo, áldu, ǽldra, áldra,* lit. „Elders."

In Lind. Rush. no distinction at all is made between the *„seniores Populi"* and the *„pharisaei"*: both are conceived as *seniores, „áldo"*; while the W. S. designates only the Elders with the corresponding *„éaldras"*. The same is true of *„ðā áldra"* and *„ðā áldormen"* cited below.

a) As Pharisees:

ūðwuto and ðā ǽldo, „scribae et pharisaei.“ Lind. Mk. 2; 16

ðā ǽldo, „pharisaei.“ Lind. Lk. 7; 30. Further Lind.: Lk. 11; 42, 43 (*áldo*), 53. 13; 31. 16; 14. Joh. p. 5; 7. p. 6; 1, 13. Mt. 16; 1, 6 (*ǽldra*), 11, 12 (*áldra*).

Rush.: *ðā áldu, „pharisaei.“* Mk. 2; 16, 18 (2×). 7; 1.

ðā ǽldu. Lk. 11; 53.

áldu and alle iūdēas, „pharisaei et omnes judaei.“ Mk. 7; 3.

wǣ īow ǽldum! „vae vobis, pharisaei.“ Lk. 11; 42, further 11; 43. 12; 1.

b) As „Elders of the People“:

„a senioribus et a summis sacerdotibus“, from ǽldum and from hēh-sācerdum. Lind. Mk. 8; 31 and frequently. Rush. Mk. 8; 31. 11; 27 and frequently.

4. *áldra, senior, pharisaeus.*

For the sense of „Pharisee,“ I have but one illustration:

ān wæs ǽldra, „unus pharisaeus“. Rush. Lk. 18; 10.

The sense *„senior“* is the more customary:

„a senioribus,“ from áldrum. Lind. Rush. (*ǽldrum*). Mt. 16; 21, etc.

5. The same conception is expressed in a single instance by *„áld,“* old, + the above-mentioned *„æ-lāruw“*:

ðā áldo ǣ-lārwas, „pharisaei.“ Lind. Joh. 8; 13.

6. Very similar to this construction is the frequent combination *áldo wutu* (*álda wuta*), *senior, pharisaeus*; i. e. *„áld“* and *„wutu“*, W. S. *„wita,“* the wise (witty) man, from the verb *„witan“*, Ger. *„wissen,“* Mod. Eng. *„to wit.“*

In rendering, therefore, the Jewish *„seniores populi“* with his native *„witan,“* the translator selected precisely the most suitable word; for the assembly of the Elders in the Jewish state finds its parallel in the *„witena gemōt“* or grand council of state of the Anglo-Saxons.

As *„pharisaeus“*:

sē álda wuta, „pharisaeus.“ Lind. Lk. 7; 31.

ðā ǣ-lārwas vel áldo wutu, „pharisaei.“ Lind. Lk. 5; 17, further Lind. Lk. 7; 36. 11; 37, 39. Mt. 22; 15 (*ǽldo-wutu*).

ʒē ǽlde-wutu, „vos pharisaei.“ Rush. Lk. 11; 39.

As *„senior“*:

ǽldo wuto, „seniores (judaeorum).“ Lind. Lk. 7; 3.

In Lind. Mt. 21; 23 we find *wuto* alone for *„seniores“*: *„seniores* (sc. *populi*),“ *ǽldo vel wuto.*

7. *ðā áeldo menn* (*wearas*),“ from *„mann“* and *„wer,“* man: *ðā áeldo menn, „pharisaei.“* Lind. Mt. 21; 45. 22; 34. *ðā álde wearas, „pharisaei.“* Rush. Joh. 4; 1.

Thus the Pharisee is here conceived as *„senior populi“*; cf. sub 3.

8. Rush. has once or twice for Pharisee the word *„ūðwuta,“ „ǽlde ūðwuta,“* a term occurring often in Lind. Rush., but, excepting in the above, in the sense of Lat. *„scriba,“* scribe (q. v.):

ðāra ūðwutuna, „pharisaeorum.“ Rush. Lk. 14; 1. *sum ǽlde ūðwuta, „quidam pharisaeus“.* 11; 37.

9. *ǣ-crœftig,* acquainted with, versed („crafty“) in, the Law, *pharisaeus*:

Pharisaei, ǣcrœftigo. Lind. Mt. 12; 24, 38.

10. *áldormenn* (W. S. *éaldormen,* in the sense of *„seniores populi“*: Mk. 8; 31, etc.).

The *áldorman* in the A.-S. State was a nobleman of high rank, who was intrusted by the royal authority with the government of a province or a county.

„áldor,“ the first component part of the word, denoted originally an Elder (of the tribe), in historical O. E. prince, ruler; cf. the Oxford Dict. art. *„alderman,“* Bos. Toll. *„éaldormann.“*

Under the influence of Christianity, this word, which had heretofore been used only in a worldly sense, received in so far a religious coloring as it was employed by the translators of the Bible to denote a) the Jewish High Priests, the *„principes sacerdotum,“ „pontifices,“* and b) the Pharisees — the latter sense, however, only in North.-Merc.

Examples.

a) *ðā éaldormen ðāra sācerda þōhtan ðœt hīe wóldan Lazarum ofslēan.* Bl. 77; 7.

sē éaldorman ðāra Jūdēa and ðāra sācerda. 153; 23; very similar 153, 1. 177; 19 („*principes sacerdotum*").

Caiphan þone éaldorman þāra sācerda (Lat. simply „*Caiphanque*"). Bede 442, 29.

fram ýldrum and bōcerum and éaldormannum ðǣra sācerda, „*a principibus sacerdotum.*" Mt. 16; 21, further Lk. 22; 4, 52, etc.

„*principes sacerdotum,*" *áldormenn ðāra sācerda.* Lind. Rush. Joh. 12; 10, etc.

„*ad pontifices et pharisaeos,*" *tō ðǣm áldor-monnum and ðā ǣlārwas.* Lind. Joh. 7; 45, very similar Rush., etc. in Lind. Rush.

b) „*Pharisaei, ǽldormenn.*" Lind. Mt. 15; 1, 12.

Further, „*pharisaei, áldormen.*" Rush. Mk. 7; 5, similar Rush.: Lk. 13; 31. 14; 3. 15; 2. 17; 20. Joh. 8; 3.

§ 6. The Scribes, Lat. *scribae*, are called in O. E. usually „*bōceras,*" properly writers, authors,[1]) from *bōc,* book; more rarely „*wrīteras,*" writers, from *wrītan*, to write.

Examples.

ðā bōceras and Fariseisce, „*scribae et pharisaei.*" Mt. 15; 1, etc. in the W. S. Gospels. Bl. 85; 1. Defens. 203; 2. Hom. I, 338; 10, 12. I, 44; 29, 78; 11. II, 300; 3, 470; 6. Lives 25; 32.

„*scribas populi,*" *bōkeras ðæs folkes.* Rush. Mt. 2; 4, etc.

„*cum scribis,*" *mið bōecerum.* Lind. Mt. 27; 41.

„*scribae, ðā bōecere.*" Lind. Mk. p. 5; 3.

The North.-Merc. is here, likewise, distinguished by its peculiar terminology: in addition to „*bōcere,*" the term already noted, viz. „*ūðwuta,*" is of very frequent occurrence.

The word properly signifies „very wise man," „philosopher," from *wuta* (*weota, wita*), „wise man," and the intensive particle *ūð-*.

Examples.

„*quidam de scribis,*" *of ūðwutum.*" Lind. Rush. Mk. 2; 6, etc El. 473 (*ūðweotan*).

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[1]) Thus, e. g. Ass. (Æ) II, 210: *Bēda, sē mǣra bōcere,* „Bede, the famous author" etc.

The Sadducees.

§ 7. As with *„Pharisaeus,“* so also here we have to deal with both a foreign term and an O. E. adaptation of *„Sadducaeus.“*

The borrowed forms are, *„sadducēas,“ „ðā Sadducie,“ „ðā Sadducēisean;“* the native circumlocution is *„riht-wīsend,“* teacher of the law, one acquainted with the law (cf. O. H. G. *„rehtwīsendlīc“* = Mod. Ger. *„rechtsverständig“*).

Learned forms like *„Sadducēi,“* or even the gen. plur. *„Sadducaeorum,“* are likewise not uncommon.

Illustrations.

ēodun tō him Farisēas and Sadducēas. Rush. Mt. 16; 1.

Saducēas. Ibid. 22; 23, 34.

ðā Saducie. Past. 362; 5.

ðæt folc Phariseo and Saducia. Past. 361, 25.

„saducea,“ Sadducaeorum. Rush. Mt. 3; 7.

sadducēa. Rush. Mt. 16; 6, 12.

saducēæ. 16; 11.

ðā Saducēiscan. Mt. 22; 34.

sume of Saducēum, „quidam Saducaeorum.“ Lk. 20; 27.

Farisēi and Saducēi. Mt. 16; 1.

þā cōmon him tō Saducēi, „Sadducaei.“ Mk. 12; 18, further Mt. 22; 23.

gȳmað and wárniað fram beorman Fariseorum and Saduceorum. Mt. 16; 6, 11, 12.

riht-wīsend:

hē geseh manega ðǣra súnderhālgena, and ðǣra riht-wīsendra, „multos Pharisaeorum et Sadducaeorum.“ Mt. 3; 7 (only illustration!).

The Samaritans.

§ 8. The Samaritans were not regarded as Jews but almost as heathen. This explains the fact that we find, in addition to the typical designation *„samaritānisc,“* also the paraphrases *„hǣðen,“ „hǣðen-monn,“* pagan, heathen, and *„līoda,“ „gentes,“ „samaritani.“*

These latter expressions, however, obtain only in the North.-Merc.

Rush. possesses, in addition, the expression „*Samaringas*", *Samaritain*:

In . . . cæstra Samaringa, in civitatem samaritanorum Mt. 10; 5. „*Samaringas*" is derived from *Samaria* (the capital of the country) by means of the O. E. ending *-ing* (German. *-inga*); cf. such proper names as O. E. *Geransingas, Gomorringas, Cedaringas, Moabitingas, Idumingas, Seringas* etc. (Kluge, in Grd.[2] I, 470, and in his Nominale Stammbildungslehre[2] § 26), derived from the names of biblical cities and countries.

Illustrations.

Sum samaritānisc man. Lk. 10; 33.

ðēs wæs Samaritānisc. Lk. 17; 16, similar Joh. 8; 48.

Jūdēas and Samaritānisce men. Joh. 4; 9, similar 4; 39.

ðurh ðā tielunga ðæs Samaritāniscan. Past. 125; 7.

cwǣdon . . . ðæt hē wǣre Samaritānisc. Hom. II, 228; 29, very similar 230; 2, 3.

wīf ðīo samaritānesca. Rush. Joh. 4; 9. *wīf ðīo samaritānisca.* Lind. Joh. 4; 9.

Samaritānesc arð ðū. Rush. Joh. 8; 48.

ðā samaritāniscean. Joh. 4; 40.

ða samaritānisco. Joh. Lind. 4; 40.

ðāra samaritānesca, „Samaritanorum." Rush. Joh. 4; 39, 40. Lind. Mt. 10; 5.

ðāra samaritāniscena. Lind. Joh. 4; 39.

tō samaritāniscum, „samaritanis." Lind. Joh. 4; 9.

Learned Form:

on ðā ceastre samaritanorum, „in civitatem samaritanorum." Lk. 9; 52.

Note 1. The expressions, „*from samaritānum, a samaritano*", Lind. Lk. p. 6; 20, and „*Samaritāna*" (gen. plur.) Joh. 4; 9, indicate the existence of the form **Samaritān(us)*, plur. **Samaritānas, -i.* Cf. *Pharisēus*, plur. *Pharisēas, -i.*

Samaritanus, þæt is hǣðinmonn. Lind. Lk. 10; 33.

hic erat Samaritanus, „þēs wæs hǣðin" (*hǣðen*, Rush.). Lind. Lk. 17; 16.

samaritanorum, ðāra samaritāniscana līoda. Lind. Joh. p. 4; 5.

in civitatem „samaritanorum, . . . ðāra līoda." Lind. Rush. Lk. 9; 52.

ðǣra samaritānesca vel ðāra līoda „samaritanorum.“ Lind. Mt. 10; 5, similar, Lk. 17; 11.

Note 2. Cf.: *„In terra Genassenorum, in éorðo ðāra līoda.“* Lind. Mt. p. 15; 18. Lk. 8; 26, 37.

Heathen.

§ 9. The Lat. contains four different expressions denoting, heathen, viz. *„gentes“, „gentiles“, „ethnici,“* and *„pagani“.*

„Gentes“ translates Grk. *τὰ ἔθνη.*

„Paganus“ comes into notice first in the Eccl. Lat. of the 4th century; prior to this time the word denoted „relating to the *„pagus“, „rusticus“, „rustic.“*

As Christianity won its way at first only into the cities, and but slowly extended its sway into the rural districts, an identification of the rustic (*„paganus“*) with the heathen (*„gentilis“*) was much facilitated.

In the rendition into O. E. of the Lat. terms just cited, there is considerable variation: no less than five translations are found, viz.:

1. *hǣðen*, a pagan, in the plur. pagans, or heathen collectively; thus, in the sing. it is equivalent to Lat. *paganus*, in the plur. to *gentes, gentiles, ethnici.*
2. *þēod,* plur. *þēoda, „gens“, „gentes“.*
3. *cynn, „gens“.*
4. *ǣ-swica,* properly „traitor“, „deceiver“, — „one who turns from another“.
5. *līoda,* properly „people“, then *„gentes“* (rare).

The three last mentioned words are attested only for the North.-Merc.

§ 10. 1. *hǣðen*, adj. O. H. G. *heidan*, O. S. *hēđin*, O. N. *heiđenn*, Goth. *haiþnô* fem. (found only once), Common German. term for Lat. *paganus.*

Considerations „which I have given below („Note“), have led me to accept the view set forth by Kluge, Seiler, and others, concerning the origin of this term, viz. that, in the case of *hǣðen, haiþnô*, etc., we have to do with nothing more nor less than an artificially constructed rendering, devised by the Goth.-Arian Church, of the

Lat. *paganus.* The Goths, then, acting as a medium, transmitted the word (adapting itself, of course, to the phonology of the various dialects) to the other Teutonic tribes.

According to this view, therefore, the word never existed, as an original derivative in the sense of „pertaining to a heath (*hǣð*)" „*agrestis.*" (Thus Skeat, Ety. Dict. 3rd Ed. 1898).

In like manner also Ger. „*taufen*", O. S. *dōpian*, Goth. *daupjan*, are held to have been constructed through Gothic influence on the model of Lat. „*baptizare*". Cf. also O. E. *dyppan*, to „dip", to immerse, *baptizare*, vid. Seiler, S. 89 et seqq., Kluge in his „Wörterbuch" and in Grd.[2] I, 359.

Note 1. Nowhere in O. E. literature have I been able to find any trace of an original meaning „*agrestis*". The same is probably true likewise of the other Germanic languages. It is true that Jacob Grimm (Myth. 4. Aufl. Bd. 3, S. 1 ff.) asserts the discovery of a case where O. H. G. *heidan* = „*agrestis*"; but his „*demo heidanin commane*" „*rustico*" is surely too isolated to act as proof positive of his assertion, in the face of the total absence of a similar sense elsewhere in the German and in the remaining Germanic languages. At all events, the above explanation, while of course not absolutely incontrovertible, is certainly very probable.

Note 2. Of late years there has been another attempt to account for *hǣðen*, etc.

Prof. S. Bugge (Indog. Forsch. V, 178) advances the theory that the prototype of Goth. *haiþnô*, **haiþans*, was the Armenian *het anos*, „Pagan", „heathen". This view the Oxf. Dict. seems inclined to accept. But there are two considerations that make Bugge's surmise improbable; first, that the stem-vowel (*ǣ*, *ai* is not accounted for. The Oxf. Dict. thinks, this can, however, be explained „by assimilation to *haiþi*, heath". But what possible room for assimilation can exist between terms so entirely different in meaning as *het „anos*", „infidel", gentile", and *haiþi*, „heath?" In the second place, it would seem just as probable to account for the Germ. *-an* (O. H. G. *heidan*) by assuming Ulfilas was influenced by the Latin *pag-anus* and similar adjectives, as to accept the *het anos*-theory. Cf. the Germ. — *āri-* < Lat. — *ārius*, for example.

Fundamentally considered, *hǣðen* in O. E. denotes every unbaptized person. Thut we read in Ælfric's canons:

And ʒif ungefullod cíld fǣrlīce bið ʒebrōht tō þām mæsse prēoste, ðæt he hit mōt fullian sōna mid ofste, ðæt hit ne swelte hǣðen. Thorpe p. 445 XXVI.

As „*hǣðen*“ is of such frequent occurrence, I need scarcely cite more than a few typical cases.

„*hǣðen*“ as an adjective:

monega hǣðena þēoda, „ex gentium populis“. Ælf. „Gesetze“, Einleitung 49, 1.

hǣðen híldfruma. Jul. 7.

As a substantive:

Albanus hǣðen ðā ʒȳt, „Albanus paganus adhuc“. Bede 34, 12.

ðām sēocan hǣðenan. Hom. II, 24. 33.

Hīe fērdon ongēan ðǣm hēðnum. Bl. 203; 3.

As an adjective used as a noun: *hū, ne dōð hǣðene swā? „nonne ethnici hoc faciunt?*“ Mt. 5; 47.

The Non-Jews.

§ 11. For the non-Jews we find „*hǣðen*“, Dan. 330. Gen. 2483 etc., where the poet forgets his own personality completely, judging and observing everything from a Jewish point of view; and also in the New Testament (Joh. 12; 12) „*hǣðen*“ translates lat. „*gentiles*“, even when the latter designates the Greek gentiles who were of the Jewish faith. Cf. also Nicod. 476, 5 and 19.

As a term of ridicule and contempt „*hǣðen*“ is found, finally, more than once in poetry.

Thus of the monster Grendel it is said (Bēow. 850 et seqq.): „*[hē] drēama lēas in fen-freoðo feorh ālegde, hǣðene sāwle.*“

Jul. 536 the devil is called „*hǣðen*“, a pagan.

When, on the other hand, the author desires to defend the Jews, or to emphasize the contrast between Christians and Jews, he makes no hesitation in branding even them as heathen.

Thus Lives III, 566:

„*ān æðele lǣce Joseph ʒehāten, hǣðen and Jūdēisc,*“ *Joseph quidam Hebraeus erat egregius*“.

Sat. 540 Peter says of the Jews who have crucified the Lord, that they are „*hǣðene*“, „heathen“.

§ 12. 2. *þēod* str. fem. „*gens*“, plur *þēoda, „gentes*“. Cf. O. H. G. *diot,* plur. *diota, „gentes*“, O. N. *þjóð, „gens*“, „*populus*“.

O. E. *þēod* denoted first of all „*gens*", nation generally, then later, under the influence of the Lat. „*gentes*", we find in addition to the older meaning the plur. „*þēoda*" for heathen nations.

Precisely the same development of meaning was experienced by both O. H. G. and Goth. (cf. Raumer, p. 285), while O. N. „*þjóð*" retains the original meaning (Kahle, p. 17, Act. Germ.[1]) For philological information, see Kluge, „Wörterbuch", art. „*deutsch*".

In the following citations the plur. forms only are considered, as the sing. signifies either „nation" or „people", but never „heathen".

a) As „nations":

ðā sint nū of hǣðenum ðēodum tō Crīste gecirde. Ælfr.'s „Gesetze", Einl. 49, 2.

monega hǣðena ðēoda. 49, 1.

monega ðēoda, „plures nationes". 49, 7.

on ðǣm lónde is XXX ðēoda, „gentes triginta". Oros. 10; 28. very similar, 10; 32. 12; 2 etc.

[*hē*] *bodade godspell . . . hǣðenum ðēodum, „gentibus".* Hom. II, 294; 13.

ðā sette hē ðēoda gemǣru", the boundaries of nations". Hom. I, 518; 14. similar I, 462, 15. II, 258; 22. Wulf. 157, 12, 16.

b) As „*gentiles*", the gentiles (heathen):

Paulus . . . ðone hē (= sē hālga Gāst) gecēas tō lārēowe eallum ðēodum. Hom. I, 324; 2.

(*Paulus*) *is geweden ealra ðēoda lārēow.* Hom. I, 384. 21. II, 332; 6 etc.

Haec omnia gentes inquirunt, ealle ðās ðíng ðēoda sēceað. Mt. 6; 32 (W. S. and Rush.).

Further: Mt. W. S. and Rush. 12; 18, 21. 28; 19.

§ 13. 3. *cyn(n)* str. neut., plur. (in North.) *cynna.* Properly „*tribus*", „*genus*"; cf. Goth. *kuni*, O. H. G. *kunni*, „race", „family".

[1]) Nevertheless two passages do occur in Fritzner („Ordbog" sub *þjóð*), where O. N. *þjóð* in the plur. signifies heathen nations; but as these are mostly taken from translations of O. E. religious literature, they need scarcely be seriously regarded.

In the sense of Grk. τὰ ἔθνη, heathen nations, the word is of frequent occurrence, but only in the North.-Merc.:

Haec enim omnia gentes inquirunt — *„gentes, cynna vel hǣdno"*. Lind. Mt. 6; 32.

„gentibus, hǣdnum vel cynnum." Lind.: Mt. 12; 18, 21. 28; 19. Similar: Lk. 2; 32. 21; 24. Mk. 13; 10. Lk. 24; 47. Rush.: Lk. 2; 32. 21; 24 (2×). Mk. 13; 10.

§ 14. 4. *ēswica, „hypocrita", „ethnicus"*, from the verb W. S. *ā-swīcan,* to become apostate, dissemble, deceive.

The prefix *ē-* (W. S. *ǣ-*, *ā-*) signifies „from", „out of", represented in Goth. by *us-,* in O. H. G. by *ur-, ir-.* The verb *„swīcan"* means „to fall away", „to deceive", from *„swic"*, deception.

I have found the expression in the sense of „heathen" in vogue only in the North.:

„nonne ethnici hoc faciunt? ah ne ēswice ðis dōas?" Lind. Mt. 5; 47.

„sicut ethnici, swǣ ēswico." 6; 7.

ēswica, ethnicus". 18; 17.

§ 15. 5. *ðā līoda,* „people" in a general sense, then quite rarely equivalent to *„gentiles"*, *„gentes"*, „the heathen", „the gentiles", but only in North.-Merc.

The only illustrations of this use of *„līoda"* known to me have already been noted; vid. „Samaritans", § 8.

§ 16. The state of being a heathen,

paganism, the unbaptized state, is called principally *„hǣðendōm"*, str. m., Lat. *„gentilitas"*, *„paganismus"*, from *„dōm"*, „judgment", „law", or, as second component part in compounds, „state of being", „office". Cf. O. H. G. *heidantuom,* O. N. *heiðenn dōmr* and *heiðenndōmr,* with the same meaning.

Note 1. In rare instances, the expression is found resolved into its component parts, each of which is inflected:

ǣnne crīstendōm ealle héaldan and ǣlcne hǣðene-dōm mid ealle oferhogian. Wulf. 274, 15.

ne on hǣðenedōme hūru ne ȝebrínge, „vel in gentilitatem". Cnut II, 3 S. A., but Lieberman has hǣðenedōme in one word; cf. also crīstendōm below.

Examples.

ǣlcne hǣþendōm géorne āworpen, „omni paganismo sedulo renuntiare“. Edw. Guth. Ges. Pref. 1, and passim in the „Laws“.

be hǣðendōme“, „concerning heathenism“. Wulf. 309, 10.

hwyrfen in hǣðendōm. Dan. 221.

&c.

The sense of Mod. Eng. „heathendom“, the heathen collectively, the pagan world, is quite rare in O. E. This meaning is probably due to the influence of the Lat.

„gentilitas“ (cf. *„hǣðeness*“ below).

Thus Cnut II, 3:

wē bēodað þæt man Crīstene men ealles tō swīðe of éarde ne sylle ne on hǣðendōme hūru ne gebrínge, „praecipimus ne Christiani passim in exilium vendantur vel in gentilitatem“.

Also the following: *gif hwā crīstene* (= *-enne*) *man on hǣðendōm sylle „si quis hominem christianum in regionem gentilem vendiderit.*“ Can. Edg. Mod. imp. Poen. p. 410, 43.

Note 2. The Oxf. Dict. apparently considers this use of heathendom peculiar to Mod. Eng., as it gives for the earliest example of this sense a citation from 19th century literature! But, as we see, O. E. *hǣðendōm* was likewise employed in precisely the same way. This note applies also to *hǣðenscipe* § 17, Note 2.

§ 17. Besides *„hǣðendōm*“, the compound *„hǣðenscipe*“ str. m. was also employed to denote pagan belief, *„gentilitas*“.

In composition the suffix *-scipe* is widely used, and signifies „state of being“, „office“, „dignity“:

wē forbēodað éornostlīce ǣlcne hǣðenscipe; hǣðenscipe bið ðæt man īdola wéorðige. Cnut II, 5.

on hǣðenscipe wunigende, „paganis ritibus oberrantes“. Hom. I, 504; 12. Similar: I, 130, 206; 33. II, 498, 24, 504; 6, 11. &c. &c. Wulf. 102; 2, 5. 104; 24. 399; 14. Ass. (Æ) IX, 271, 428. Oros. 40; 24. Poen. Ecgb. IV, 20 p. 380. Etc. in the „Laws“.

Note 1. *Hǣðenscipe* as „idolatry“ is very rare, and cannot always be distinguished from *hǣðenscipe*, „paganism“:

and gif gē . . . ne hǣðenscipes gȳmað on ǣnige wīsan, „si post deos alienos non ambulaveritis.“ Wulf. 50, 3.

Julianus . . . mid eallum mōde hǣðenscipe beēode. Hom. I, 448; 29.

wē nǣfre ne būgað tō ðīnum hǣðenscipe. Hom. II, 18; 35. Similar, Ass. (Æ) III, 97. V, 131.

Note 2. Whether *hǣðenscipe* in Late O. E. can denote „heathendom", „the heathen world" is not proved by the following examples:

(Juno) wearð swȳðe hēalīc gyden æfter hǣðenscype getéald „Juno was accounted by the heathen(?) a very noble goddess." Wulf. 106, 13. Very similar, 107, 21.

sē sunu wæs . . . swȳðor on hǣðenscype gewúrðod ðonne sē fæder wǣre. Ibid. 106, 19.

§ 18. Like *hǣðenscipe,* is used the rare term *„hǣðenes"* str. fem., found only in early texts; from *hǣðen* and *-nes,* common German. abstract suffix (properly divided as *-n — es*: Kluge, Nom. Stammbildungslehre [2] § 137 f. „Principles" I, p. 253; Wilmanns, Deutsche Gram.[2] II § 269 et seqq.):

monige . . . hǣðenesse ðēaw forlēton. Bede 62, 15.

ðā Sighere forlēt ðā gerȳnu ðæs crīstnan gelēafan & tō hǣðenisse wæs gehwyrfed. Bede 250, 6.

wit nóldon þæt ðās hālgan bēc léncg in dǣre hǣðenesse wuneden „. . . among the heathen". Cart. Sax. No. 634 (between 871—889).

From *hǣðen* the substantive was derived by means of the suffix *-isc* the adj. *hǣðenisc,* pagan, heathenish.

This expression occurs but rarely, and in Ælfred:

heora godas bǣdon ðæt him man worhte anfiteātra ðæt mon mehte ðone hǣðeniscan plegan ðǣrinne dōn. Oros. 102, 12. Similar, 202, 6. 296, 21.

Christians.

§ 19. Lat. *„christianus"* gives the O. E. borrowings *crīsten* adj. and the substantives *crīsten* str. m. and *crīstena* w. m., from O. E. *„Chrīst"*, Christ.

The O. H. G. has *cristan, cristâni* adj., and *cristâno* subst. O. N. *kristenn* springs from either O. E. *crīsten* or M. L. G. *kristen.* Cf. Kahle p. 18. The Gothic presents only the proper noun *Xristus,* „Christ"; the scanty literature of that language does not furnish us with a designation for Christian.

Note. The quantity of the vowel in *„crīsten"*.

O. E. *„crīst"* (on the Lat.-Romance origin of which vid. Kluge in Paul's „Grundriss" 2. Aufl. I, S. 359 Anm., with which compare „Grundriss" 1. Aufl. I, 783, 784) renders probable the supposition that the derivatives *„crīsten"*, *„crīstendōm"* etc. should be written with long *i*; nevertheless it

should be noted that I have never found in the MSS. any such marks of length.[1])

On „*crīst*" in M. E., and on M. E. analogy lengthenings, such as *crīstendōm*, the reader is referred to Morsbach, Mittelenglische Gram. § 62 and „Anm."

Some of the most important illustrations here follow; however, as the term in question is of such frequent occurrence, only a few passages will be given.

As an adjective:

him séalde Justinus āne crīstene bōc. Oros. 6; 12.

crīstenes folces. Ps. 106, 31.

As a substantive:

betuh ðǣm ðē ðǣr crīstene wǣron. Oros. 260; 17.

ȝif ǣnig crīsten āgylte. Oros. 266; 10. *sē dēoflīca cāsere þē æfter Nerone ðā rēðan ēhtnyssa besette on ðām crīstenum.* Ælfric T. 16; 14.

ne byð sē man nā Crīsten. Ælfric T. 22; 22.

crīstenra (gen. plur.) An. 1677. El. 980.

sē crīstena. Ælfric Lives XVII, 124.

ðā crīstenan. Ibid. XVII, 1.

Even more in vogue than the foregoing, was the combination of *crīsten* with „*monn*", man (cf. *hǣðenmon* etc.):

wē bebēodað ǣlcum crīstenum men, „every Christian". Edm. „Gesetze" I, 2.

hē wæs monna ǣrest ēhtend crīstenra monna. Oros. 262; 4.

ðā crīstnan men. Oros. 268; 13.

crīstene men, „*christianos*". Bede 34, 1.

dǣl crīstenum mannum, „share among the Christians." Hom. I, 418; 14.

Sē ercedīacon . . . ȝeaxode mā crīstenra manna I, 418; 25.

crīstne men, „Christians". Jul. 5.

The Christians as the Faithful.

§ 20. From „*ȝelēafa*", „belief", „faith", are derived the designations of the Christians as „*ȝelēafsum*" and „*ȝelēafful*":

in ðām lācum ȝelēafsumra. Bede 64, 7.

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[1]) [If this is really the case, we may assume shortness of vowel in O. E. *Crist*, *cristen* &c. and explain the M. E. and N. E. lengthenings through French influence. Morsbach.]

ðā crīstenan men and ðā ȝelēafsuman Bede 42, 4. *ða ȝelēafsuman.* Bl. 117; 9.

In this connection, however, the word „*ȝelēafful*“ is much more frequently employed than *ȝelēafsum*; and for the later periods of O. E. „*ðā ȝelēaffullan*“ alone is found:

ðā beorhtan steorran ȝetācniað ðā ȝelēaffullan. Cock. III, 238, 4. Screadunga 24, 20.

Protector fidelium Deus, scíldend ȝilēaffulra ȝod. D. Rit. 98, 3. Similar, 121, 20.

ȝelēaffulle, fideles. De C. M. 400, 4. Bl. 81; 16.

ðā ȝelēaffullan. Hom. I, 516; 35. 326; 28. II, 290; 33, &c. Bl. 5, 30. Past. 139, 16, &c.

A favorite phrase is also „*ȝelēaffulle men*“, „*fideles*“. Thus Past. 319, 2. 367, 16. Poen. Ecgb. I, 15 (2 ×) &c. Bl. 33, 4. 35, 3.

§ 21. A superlative of „*crīsten*“ is found Bede 142, 15:

sē mon wæs þurh eall sē crīstenesta and sē ȝelǣredesta, „*vir per omnia christianissimus atque doctissimus.*“ Similar, Bede 110, 3. 176, 22.

§ 22. From the noun „*crīsten*“ was formed the verb „*crīstnian*“, „*catechizare*“, „to prepare a candidate for baptism“:

siðþan hē ȝecrīstnad wæs, „*cum catechizaretur*“. Bede 138, 22.

ðēah hē ðā ȝȳt nǣre fullīce . . . ȝefulwad, ah hē wæs ȝecrīstnod. Bl. 213; 13.

nū þū eart ȝecrīstnod ǣr ðīnum fulwihte, „*. . . . adhuc catechumenus*“. 215, 22. Similar, 215, 36. 217: 13. Hom. II, 498, 27. Wulf. 33; 17. 35; 5. Lives XXX, 93. XXXI, 23. Bout. Ald. to Ald. Giles pp. 30, 39, 57.

hē þone cyning ȝecrīstnade and hine eft æfter fæce mid fulwihtes bæðe āðwōh mid his þēode, „*cum rex ipse catechizatus fonte baptismi cum sua gente ablueretur.*“ Bede 168, 1.

Note 1. „*Crīstnian*“ is undoubtedly a formal imitation of such verbs as Lat. *episcopare, monachare* (from *episcopus, monachus*) = O. E. *biscopian, munecian.*

Note 2 „*Crīstnian*“ signifies primarily the „*prima signatio*“ of the catechumens as distinguished from the baptism proper — „*fulluht*“, „*fulwian*“ (properly *full-wiht, ful-wīhan* = the full or complete consecration, to consecrate fully).

The terms „*crīstnian*“ and „*fulwian*“ are, also, very rarely confused (see below). It should be noted, however, that „*crīstnian*“, in addition to its fundamental or proper sense, possesses likewise that of Mod. Eng. „*christen*“ i. e. to baptize an infant: *þonne sē prēost crīstnað ðæt cild, ðonne ādræfð hē ðone dēofol of ðām cilde; forðan ðe ælc hæðen man bið dēofles, ac þurh ðæt halige fulluht hē bið godes* . . . Hom. I, 304; 32.

We have here it is true, a parallel or comparison between the two conceptions „*crīstnað*“ and „*fulluht*“; but there is no confusion, for the „*crīstnung*“ of the child, while corresponding to the „*fulluht*“ of the adult, does not nevertheless coincide with it.

In two passages only „*crīstnian*“ really appears to have the same sense as „*fulwian*“. In the first case „*crīstnian*“ may, perhaps, be used poetically: *wæter crīstnað and elǣnsað cwicra menigo.* Sat. 395.

The second case refers to the substantive „*crīstnung*“:

Papa Romanus . . . statuit si presbyter vel quicumque fuerit qui baptizaverit peccator esset, ministerium Spiritus Sancti esse nihilominus in gratia baptismi haudquaquam hominis in baptizando, „. . . . in ðǣre ȝife ðæs fulluhtes . . . næles ðæs mannes in crīstnunge.“ Con. Ecgb. 7 p. 348 (Ms. X).

The noun corresponding to the verb *crīstnian, catechizare,* is „*sēo crīstnung*“, the act of catechizing (cf. above Note 2., end, for secondary signification). Thus we read in Wulf. 33, 16:

on þǣre crīstnunge ðe man dēð ǣr ðām fulluhte. Similar, 35, 21.

„To become a Christian by receiving the sacrament of baptism“ was expressed by „*crīsten ȝedōn bēon*“, i. e. „to be made a Christian“. Thus Chr. A. anno 167.

The „*Catechumenus*“, or catechumen, was termed, in addition to „*ȝecrīstnod*“ already mentioned, also rarely „*ȝelēafhlystend*“ or „*lār-hlystend*“, i. e. „hearer“ of the faith or doctrine. Both the latter expressions are in all probability partial imitation of the Lat. „*auditor*“, „*audiens = catechumenus.*

Examples.

„*catechumeni, gelēafhlestendes vel ȝecrīstnodes*“. Bout. Ald. „*Audientis*“ Giles Ald. p. 30.

„*catechumenos, gecrīstnade, lār-hlestendere*“. Bout. Ald. Giles Ald. p. 39.

„*in catechumenorum gradu*“ — „*catechumenorum, ȝelēafhlestendra. auditorum.*“ Bout. Ald. to Giles Ald. p. 30.

„*catechumenus, (ge-)lēafhlestend*“. Bout. Ald.

§ 23. „*Christianitas*“, belief in Christ, adherence to Christianity, is chiefly expressed by „*crīstendōm*“ str. masc.

„state of being a Christian", which, although rarely, also signifies the Christian world (Mod. Eng. „*Christendom*") and the Christian Era[1]).

Secondarily and quite seldom the term „*crīstenes*" str. fem., *christianitas*, Christianity is likewise found. Cf. O. H. G. „*kristentuom*", O. N. „*kristendómr*", Christianity.

Examples.

a) *crīstendōm*:

ʒif hwā Crīstendōm wýrde oððe hǣðendōm wéorðiʒe . . ., gýlde . . . bē ðām ðe sȳo dǣde sȳ. Edw. and Guthr. „Gesetze" 2.

crīstendōm and cynedōm. Æthelr. VIII, 42.

bǣdon hine þæt hē him tō heora Crīstendōme and tō heora éaldrihtu gefultumede. Boet. Sedgef. 7, 22.

Dēofolgíld bið þæt man his drihten forlǣte and his crīstendōm. Lives XVII, 47.

&c.

The form with double inflection, *crīsten dōm*, occurs once:

þā ȳfel ðe sē cyning Đēodrīc wið þām crīstenan dōme . . . dyde. Boet. Sedgef. 7, 14; Cf. the same phenomenon sub *hǣðendōm,* and cf. also the frequent occurrence of O. N. *kristenn dómr, heiðenn dómr,* with double inflection (Fritzner, Ordbog[2]).

b) *crīstenes*:

for ðǣre crīstnesse ðē ʒē únderfēnge. Durham Admonition (9th cent.), O. E. T. 176.

I shall cite here also the following favorite paraphrases for the Christian faith, the Christian religion:

„*sēo crīstene ǣfestnes* (*-nys*)", — „*ǣfestnes*" = „*religio*". Thus Bede 38, 4 &c. From „*ǣ*", law, and „*fæst*", fast firm.

„*sē crīstena ʒelēafa*" Bede 40. 21 etc. *Crīstes ʒélēafa* — extremely frequent in Bede; e. g. 4; 3, 10, 21, 25 &c.

Poetical are:

„*sēo godcúnde ǣfestnis, divina religio*". Bede 92; 7.

„*beorht ʒelēafa*", the bright, illustrious faith. Cri. 483, An. 335.

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[1]) For these two last-mentioned senses vid. sub „*crīstendōm*", § 32.

The Church.[1])

§ 24. The O. E. renders Lat. „*ecclesia*“, „congregation of the Faithful“, then „union of all Christians“, by the following six terms:

1. *cirice* = Mod. Eng. „church“; cf. Ger. „*Kirche*“.
2. *ȝesomnung*, „assembly“, „gathering“.
3. *ȝelaðung, laðung,* „invited assembly“.
4. *ȝefērrǣden,* „company“ or „society“.
5. *ȝeȝaderung, ȝaderung,* „gathering“, „assembly“.
6. *crīstendōm*, „Christendom“.

§ 25. 1. The most common designation for „*ecclesia*“ in all of its senses is „*cirice*“, wk. fem. (in Late O. E. more frequently *cyrice, cyrce, circe*).

Note. On the Forms:

Forms like „*cirica*“ are North. Thus the entire sing.: D. Rit. 18, 11. 30, 17. 30, 8. 45, 15, &c. Cf. Sievers, O. E. Gram.[3] § 276, Anm. 5.

The form „*ciericean*“ occurs Past. (H) 115, 8. „*cirecum*“. V. P. 25, 12. „*cirecan*“. O. E T. Ct. 40, 6. „*chirece*“. Wulf. 232, 23 (H).

Raumer (p. 288), Pogatscher (§ 284), Kluge (in his „Wörterbuch“), Franck (Ety. Wtb. sub „*kerk*“), and others have judged correctly that we have in „*cirice*“ an old Common Germanic borrowed word of the Greek-Arian Church (Grk. *κῦριακόν* or more probably the plural form *κῦριακά*), which was first adopted by the Goths, and then through their mediation was passed on to the remaining Teutonic tribes.

On O. N. „*Kirkja*“ cf. below „Note“. Cf. also the lucid information given in the Oxford Dict. art. „*Church*“.

According to Morsbach (in Björkman's Scandinavian Loanwords in M. E., „Studien“ VII p. 148 Note) the groundform of O. E. *cirice,* M. E. *chirche* must have been **kirkia.*

The meaning was originally that of Grk. *κυριακόν*, „the Lord's House“ (for the sing. *κυριακή* does not occur in this sense before the 11[th] century), which was, however, by degrees transferred in certain dialects — particularly in O. H. G. and O. E. — to the church congregation and the whole body of the Faithful generally.

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[1]) The church building will be discussed in a future chapter entitled „Buildings“.

In order to express these two last-mentioned ideas, the Gothic makes use of the word „*aikklêsjô*“ < Lat. „*ecclesia*“ — the Goth. (unrecorded!) **kyreikô* must have denoted the building

§ 26. Note on O. N. *Kirkja*.

In my dissertation published a few years ago ('Einfluss des Christentums auf den Wortschatz des Altenglischen', Göttingen 1898), I expressed the opinion that O. N. *Kirkja* was probably not derived from O. E., but from O. S., my chief considerations being less of a phonological nature, than on account of the considerable divergence of the O. N. word from its supposed English prototype in signification; whereas there is an almost perfect coincidence in this respect of *Kirkja* with O. S. *Kirika*.

But notwithstanding this striking fact, it is hardly possible that *Kirkja* could have originated any-where but in O. E.; for, as was kindly pointed out to me by Dr. E. Björkman, the broken form *Kiurkia* of the Vestgöta Law could have originated only in an O. E. *cyrice, cyrce* — with *y*; on this sound-change cf. Noreen, O. N. Gram. § 127, 2, Anm. 4.

But it is still necessary to account for the wide difference in meaning of *cyrice* and *kirkja*; and in this connection I have the following remarks to offer.

Kirkja denotes, according to Kahle, Acta Germanica (pp. 19—20), only rarely and „erst in späterer Zeit“ the whole body of Christians, the Christian world; with rare exceptions, it signifies only the church building.[1])

On the other hand, we find O. E. *cyrice* in the sense of Christian Church, congregation, in the most ancient texts; and this meaning is retained in full force in the entire literary period of O. E.

But what is the sense of O. S. *Kirika*? Almost identically

[1]) Kahle [cf. also Kahle, Arkiv f. Nord. Fil. N. F. 13, p. 18] uses in his dissertation only the prose literature; but the above remarks hold also for the poetry. Vid. the O. N. dictionaries of Cleasby-Vigfusson (An Icelandic — English Dictionary, &c. Oxford, 1874) and Fritzner (Ordbog over dat gamle Norske Sprog. Kristiania, 1886—96) in which the first example of *kirkja* = Christian Church is taken from the Stjórn, a paraphrase of the Old. Test. composed about 1300; cf. Cleasby-Vig. p. XI.

the same as that of the O. N.; for *Kirika* is found in O. S. only in the sense of church-building. For 'Christian world', 'congregation', the terms *samanunga, samnunga* (assembly, *ἐκκλησία*) were employed. Cf. Heyne, „Kleinere Altniederdeutsche Denkmäler" (Glossary).

These considerations, I think, make it highly probable that the word *Kirika* as conceived by the Saxon missionaries to the Northmen exerted a powerful influence upon the O. N. derivative of *cyrice* by narrowing its sense to church-building.

That O. S. exerted no inconsiderable influence upon the vocabulary of O. N. is shown by such words as O. N. *ǫlmusa* (O. S. *alamôsna*), 'alms', and probably also *prófenda* (< M. L. G. *provende*). Cf. Kahle, Act. Germ. p. 13.

§ 27. As previously remarked, the meaning of „*cirice*" as Christian congregation, the Christian Church, is quite old. Thus in the Laws of Æthelbirht, 1:

ȝodes feoh and ciricean XII *gýlde.* Similar, Wihtræd: 1, 2, 3, &c.

sēo godes circe beorhte blīeeð. Cri. 699. Similar, 703.

ðǣre hālgan ciricean, ðæt is Crīstes folces ȝesomnung. Past. 45.

hē wæs íeldesð ofer ðā hālgan cirican. Past. 115, 16.

sēo cyrice sceal fēdan þe ðe æt hire éardiað. Bl. 41, 27. Similar, 41, 26. 41, 35, &c.

In Ælfric the favorite term is „*ȝelaðung*" q. v.), although „*cyrice*" is found frequently:

Wē habbað nū ȝesǣd bē ȝodes cyrcan. Hom. II, 594; 4, &c.

Wulfstan, on the contrary, almost always prefers „*cyrice*":

sēo heofonlīce cyrice. 154, 8, &c.

Note. For „*ȝelaðung*" in Wulf. see the illustrations under „*ȝelaðung*".

For „*cirice*" as a single congregation cf. Bede 252, 16: *hē Wīghéard Óngolcynnes ciricum tō ærcebiscope ȝehālgode* &c.

In the Psalms as well as in V. P. (1st half of the 9th century, according to Sweet: O. E. T. p. 184), „*cirice*" occurs in the sense of congregation of the righteous, sacred meeting, Lat. „*ecclesia*" in its more fundamental sense.

Thus Ps. 88, 4:

„on cyricean, in ecclesia sanctorum“. &c.

And in V. P.: *„in medio ecclesiae laudabo te, in midle cirican“.* 21; 23 &c.

§ 28. 2. *ȝesomnung, ȝesamnung,* str. f., O. H. G. *samanunga,* O. S. *samnunga.* Cf. also O. N. *samnaðr,* community, *congregatio*

Note. Other forms are: *ȝesamning, ȝesomning,* and in North. *somnung.*

In every-day life, O. E. *ȝesomnung* designated any „gathering“ or „meeting“, generally; or a „collection“ of objects.

sēo ȝesomnung ðāra dēorwýrðra gimma, „collection of precious stones“. Bl. 99, 27.

In conlationibus, on ȝesamnungum. Defens. 25, 16.

conventus, conventio, ȝesamnung. Wr. Wlk. 170, 40.

lāðra ȝesamnung, the assembly of the wicked, the hostile. Bl. 65, 20.

synagoga potentium, gesomnung. V. P. 85; 14. Similar, 7; 8. 39; 11, &c., Ine's „Gesetze“, Pref.

At times the word denotes likewise „bond“ or „union“:

Æt ðām giftan sceal mæsse-prēost bēon mid rihte, sē sceal … heora ȝesomnunge ȝederian, „debet eorum consortium adunare“, i. e. the marriage-bond. „Gesetze“, Appendix VI, 8.

sēo godes circe þurh ȝesomninga sōðes and ryhtes beorhte blīceð (here = „union“). Cri. 700.

After the introduction of Christianity, however, the the word assumed the following additional conceptions:

a) The Church, the Catholic Church — very old:

ic Osuulf . . . ond béornðrȳð mīn ȝemecca sellað . . . ðæt lónd æt stānhāmstede . . . gode allmehtgum ond ðēre hālgon ȝesomnuncȝæ. O. E. T. Charters, 37, 3 (805—810).

ðæt hālige hēafoð ðǣre hālgan ȝesomnunge, ðæt is Dryhten, „sanctum Caput Ecclesiae“. Past. 101, 22. Similar, 31, 10. 43, 24. 45, 6. 65, 24 &c.

b) A congregation, a single church:

Wæs Justus sē biscop þā gēn lifiȝende and reahte ðā ȝesomnunge æt Hrōfesceastre, „Justus Rhrofensem regebat ecclesiam“. Bede 116, 27.

heora (i. e. þāra crīstenra) gesomnunga ealle wúrdon sōna tosceacerode, „eorum vero ecclesiae dispersae sunt“. Lives XXIII, 23.

hē sōna hire fēt mid tēarum ōðran biddende ðæt hēo on ðā hālgan godes gesamnunga gebǣde, „. . . ut oraret pro ecclesia“. Lives XXIII, B, 720.

c) A cloister community, monastic congregation, = *„geferrǣden, „gegaderung“*, (see below):

ðāra ārwýrðan gesomnnnge in („ing“ M. S.) *tō dām mynstre æt Wiltimne on ēche yrfe.* Cart. Sax. (No. 917 (anno 955).

inseparabile Anglicae sodalitatis collegio perfrui. — collegio, gesamnunge. Bout. Ald. to Giles Ald. p. 15.

Cellarius monasterii eligatur de congregatione, „. . . of ðǣre gesamnunge“. Ben. R. 54, 7.

Similar, 119, 5: *„ēac swylce þēah hē latōst tō mynstre cōme and ȳtemest sȳ on éndebýrdnesse ðǣre gesomnunge („þǣre geferrǣdene“.* Wells Fragment).

d) A Jewish Synagogue — very frequent:

man ēht ēower, belǣwende on gesamnungum, „Ye shall be persecuted and betrayed in the synagogues“. Hom. II, 540; 16.

hē cōm intō hyra gesomnunge, „venit in synagogam eorum“. Mt. 12; 9. *lǣrende on hyra gesomnungum, „docens in synagogis eorum“.* Mt. 4; 23. &c.

hēah-gesamnung, „archi-synagoga“. Mk. 5; 22.

Note. It will be proper to mention here also the rare learned term *„synagoga“* found but once:

lǣrende in heora synagogum vel somnungum, „. . . . in synagogis“. Rush. Mt. 4; 23.

§ 29. 3. *geladung, laðung,* str. f. from *laðian, geladian,* „to summon“, „to invite“ (Ger. *„laden“, „einladen“*), differs from *„gesomnung“* in this respect, 1) that it almost never appears in the literal or profane sense („Summons“, „meeting“, and the like), and 2) that while *„gesomnung“* may also signify monastic community and synagogue, *„geladung“* is found only in the sense of a Christian congregation, the Church. Cf. O. H. G. *ladunga,* str. f. *„ecclesia“.*

Note. *The Glosses alone* are acquainted with this word in its *profane sense* of „convocation“, „meeting“: *convocatio, geladung.* Ælfric's Vocab. Mr. Wlk. 126, 23.

In a single passage of the Benedictine Rule, „*gelaðung*" is found in the literal sense of „call" „summons":

sīo godcúnde gelaðung, evocatio divina. Ben. R. 23, 14. Ben. R. Log. reads here: „*evocatio, gecīgednyss.*"

For the Alfredian and pre-Alfredian periods I have found no illustrations of the use of „*gelaðung*"; on the other hand in Ælfric the word is extremely popular.

Wulfstan employs the term but rarely, preferring the older expression „*cyrice*".

In the Blickling Homilies „*gelaðung*" is unknown, „*cirice*", „*cyrice*" being always used.

I have no illustrations from the poetry.

Examples.

gelaðung:

sē apostol Petrus āwrāt tō gelēaffulre gelaðunge. Hom. II, 580; 13 and ibid. below: *Crīst is sē lybbenda stān . . . sē hylt ealle ðā gebytlu ðǣre gelēaffullan gelaðunge.*

ic gelȳfe on ðone Hālgan gāst and ðā hālgan gelaðunge. Hom. II, 596; 15.

The examples from Wulf. are:

riht gelēafa āspráng onmáng godes gelaðunge. 294, 4.

wē gelȳfað ðæt hālig gelaðung sȳ ealra crīstenra manna tō ānum rihtan gelēafan. 24, 10.

A single congregation:

sē hālga Cūðberhtus Líndisfarnensiscere gelaðunge lēodbiscop. Hom. II, 148, 22.

laðung:

sē rōmanisca laðung, „*ecclesia romana*". Ben. R. Log. 44, 3.

be Chrīstes circean, þæt ys eall sēo laðung. Ælfric Grein 7, 43.

Be crīste and be his laðunge. Ass. (Æ) VII, 285.

on godes laðunge. 213.

on hāligre laðunge, in sancta aecclesia. Defens. 124.

§ 30. 4. *gefērrǣden,* str. f. „*congregatio*", „*societas*", from „*gefēr*", society and „*rǣdenn*", state, condition, of being.

This term is mainly employed to denote „community", „society", „comradeship" in general. As an ecclesiastical expression it is first encountered in Late O. E., and then chiefly

in the sense of monastic community, congregation during divine service, rarely of the church congregation or membership.

The fundamental meaning, however, remains in every case clear and distinct.

The following are examples of *gefērrǣden* in the ecclesiastical sense:

As a monastic community: *gif sēo stōw ðæs nēode hæbbe and sēo gefērrǣden . . . ðæs gewīlnige,* „. . . *congregatio*". Ben. R. 125, 12. Similar: 67, 5. 126, 7 &c.

on ǣghwilcan mynstre sínge eall gefērrǣden ætgædere heora saltere þā ðrȳ dagas (this may also refer to the congregation at divine service). Wulf. 181, 20.

The congregation at divine service (?): *gif hit mycel gefērǣden is, sȳn hȳ mid antefene gesúngene; gif sēo gefērrǣden lȳtel is, sȳn hȳ forðrihte būtan sōne gesúngene.* Ben. R. 41, 7, 8.

The Church (= congregation): *sege hyt gefērrǣdene,* „*dic ecclesiae*". Mt. 18, 17.

Note. The word is not to be found in Grein's „Sprachschatz".

§ 31. 5. *gegaderung,* str. f., occurs almost exclusively in the sense of „bond" or „union", „collection of objects", „assemblage of persons" in general, and as „community of monastics" (see „Monastic Clergy"). In the sense of „Church" I possess but one sure illustration:

Aecclesia, cyrce oððe gelēafful gaderung: Wr. Wlk. 326, 7 (XI. Cent.).

In the following passage, the idea of „church" is likewise probably conveyed:

gehwǣr on hālgum godspelle þēos ándwérde gelaðung is gehāten heofenan rīce. Witodlīce rihtwīsra manna gegaderung is geeweden heofonan rīce, „the congregation of the righteous", i. e. the Church. Hom. I, 520; 10.

§ 32. 6. *crīstendom.* As we have already (§ 23) remarked, „*crīstendōm*" — properly Christianity — signifies also at times Christendom, the Church, the Christian Era.

This development of meaning may be ascribed either to the Lat. prototype „*christianitas*" (the Christian religion, the

Christian World), or perhaps merely to the usual passage from the abstract to the concrete. Cf. for the M. E. the following illustrations:

nu wœrð swā micel dwýld on Chrīstendōm swā hit nǣfre ǣr ne wœs. Chron. anno 1129.

„*As wel in Crīstendōm as hēthenesse*". Chaucer, Prol. Cant. T. 49.

crīstendōm as Mod. Eng. Christendom:

Ēalā, cwœð Orosius, on hū micelre dysignesse men nu sindon on þeosan crīstendōme! Oros. 136, 17.

Hwǣr is nū on ǣnigan crīstendōme . . .? „Where in all Christendom?" Oros. 40, 27.

Nū is ðēs dœg gehālgod hyre tō wurðmynte on eallum crīstendōme. Ass. (Æ) III, 29 et seq.

Hēafod ángelcynnes and crīstendōmes. Chron. C. anno 1011.

in exordium ecclesiae, „*on anginne crīstendōmes*". Ben. R. (F.), 136, 7.

Perhaps also the following passages belong here:

āwācyge sē crīstendōm, sōna scylfð sē cynedōm, „If the Church grows weak, the kingdom will fall." Wulf. 267, 23.

hē . . . þurh hī (sc. *þā apostolas*) *ealne crīstendōm āstéalde.* Hom. I, 258; 12.

Sē crīstendōm wēox wel on heora tīman. Ælfric Grein 264, 7.

Note 1. *Crīstendōm* = Mod. Eng. „Christendom" is not found earlier than the year 1131, acc. to the „Oxford Dict.".

Note 2. On „*crīstendōm*" = „*ecclesia.*

Scattering and late, the word appears to relate likewise to the ecclesiastical privileges (attendance, mass, and the like). Cf.:

bēo hē ūtlah wið god and āmānsumad fram eallum Crīstendōme, „let him be outlawed and excommunicated from all the privileges of the Church." Wulf. 271, 25. Very similar to this is Cnut's Manifesto of the year 1020: *bēo hē āmāsumod from eallum crīstendōme.* Earle, Land. Ch. p. 231.

from eallum crīstendōme bēon āworpen. Eccl. Inst. 27 (2 ><).

Of *Crīstendōm* in this sense the Oxford Dict. gives no illustration prior to the year 1297.

The passages cited above would thus furnish vouchers for this meaning of the word at a much earlier period, in fact in genuine O. E. times.

„*Crīstendōm*" as „the Christian Era":

Eft on ðām crīstendōme wæs Constantinus sē forma cāsere. Ælfric Grein 264, 4.

ðā ðe secgað ðæt þēos world sȳ nū wyrse on þysan crīstendōme þonne hīo ǣr on ðǣm hǣðenscype wǣre. Oros. 40, 25. Very similar, Oros. 48, 18; 28. 50, 2 and elsewhere.

Note 3. The Oxford Dict. designates *crīstendōm* in this sense as rare and obsolete, and gives as its first illustration a passage from the year 1340.

§ 33. The loan-word *seonoð* (*sionoð, synoð, senoð, sinoð*), a meeting of any kind; a synod of the church, should be mentioned here.

seonoð &c. is from Lat. *synodus*, but, as the *ð* instead of *d* shows, through the Romance; cf. sub *giūþēas* § 3, Note 1, and Sievers' Gram.[3] § 199, 2 Anm. 3. Cf. also Sievers' Gram.[3] § 69 for the *e* in the form *senoð*.

Examples.

þā wúrdon monega seonoðas [*synoðas*, M. S. H.] . . . *hālegra biscepa*, „. . . *plures synodus*". Ælfr. Einl. 49, 7. Similar: *sinoð*. Edm. I. Prol.

on ðām miclan synoð æt Grēatanleage; on þām wæs se ærcebisceop Wulfhelme. Æthelstan II, 26, 3 (= Liebermann 'Epilog').

Cf. also *Senoð-bōc*, a 'synod-book' or synodal i. e. a book containing the decrees of an ecclesiastical synod. Ælfr. Einl. 49, § 8.

Synoð in a secular sense:

wille fæder éngla . . . seonoð ʒehēgan . . . dēman mid ryhte. Phoenix 493.

þǣr hīʒ tō þǣra iūdēa synoðe cōmon, „to the council of the Jews". Nicod. 486, 27.

Chapter 2.

The departed members of the Church.

§ 34. **1. The Virgin Mary.**

The simplest designation of the Virgin Mary in use among the Anglo-Saxons was that which is likewise universal to day, viz. „Virgin Mary".

For „virgin" early O. E. employs chiefly *fǣmne* wf. (Lat. *femina*), *'virgo'*, a word denoting in late O. E. mostly *'femina'*, woman, in general. In this latter period we find for 'virgin' chiefly the word *mǣden*, originally *mægden*, *'puella'*, maiden, servant; then *'virgo'* in general.

O. E. *mægden* is a diminutive of *mægð* (Germ. *'Magd'*), *femina, virgo,* a term found in every Germanic language excepting the Norse; cf. Goth. *magaþs,* O. H. G. *magad* and *magatîn,* O. S. *magath.* See Kluge's 'Wtb.' for the etymology.

Mægð (*mægeð*), also, is applied in O. E. to Mary; but, like the similarly used *meowle* (*virgo*), is poetic; cf. below.

Note 1. That, however, the earlier meaning of *fǣmne* as *'virgo'*, *'puella'*, was preserved even in late O. E. is clearly seen in the following passages:

Nū ic hālsige þā heofonlīcan fǣmnan sca marian. A.-S. Min. Log. XI, 48 (beginning of 11th century).

fǣmne oncnāwan, „virgo casta". Lives 23 B, 436. Similar, 445, 452. Ass. XV, 55, &c.

Ʒif hē ōðres céorles wīf wemme, oððe fǣmnan, „. . . vel puellam". Con. Ecgb. 14.

Munuc oððe gehālgod fǣmne, „monachus vel puella consecrata". Con. Ecgb. 13.

pro virginitatis corona virginibus deputatur, „for mǣdenhādes cynehelme fǣmnum". Defens. 69, 16.

ðurh þā ēadigan fǣmnan Scā marian. Wulf. 144 etc., etc. in general.

Note 2. Peculiar to the North.-Merc. is the interesting compound *hehstáld*, 'virgin', W. S. *hago-stéald* (Germ. *Hagestolz*), a bachelor. The fundamental notion is 'possessor of a haw or hedge' (*haga*), and refers to the ancient Germanic law of primogeniture, according to which the eldest son inherited the homestead, the others receiving only a small patch of land („haw").

As the latter were thus brought into a state of dependence upon the bounty of the elder brother, they were unable to marry.

Thus arose the further notion of 'unmarried person', then '*virgo*', '*caeleps*'. Thus we have in the O. E. glosses: *celeps, hægstéald man.* Wr. W. 283, 17. 370, 11. 372, 26.

For the same evolution in O. H. G. cf. Kluge, Wörterbuch: *„Hagestolz"*.

Referring to the Virgin Mary we find *hehstéald* in the following passages:

In Rush.: *noma ðāre hehstálde maria.* Lk. 1, 27.

In Lind.: *ad virginem desponsatam et nomen virginis Mariam, „tō hehstálde gewōedded vel fæstnad & noma ðære hehstáldes* [sc. *Maria*]. Lk. 1, 27.

ut virginem virgo servaret, „þætte þā hehstáld hehstáld gehéalde". Jo. p. 1, 5.

beate virginis, „ēadges hehstáldes (maria)". D. Rit. 51, 16.

„virgo", in general: D. Rit. 47, 19 etc. Lind. Mt. p. 13, 2 etc.

§ 35. Of the numerous expressions that I have found in O. E. literature the following may be cited:

'*Sancta*' or '*Sancte Maria*', usually abbreviated as '*Sca. Maria*', '*Sce. Maria*'.

Thus passim in the „Laws": Æthelr. V, 14. VI, 22. Cnut I, 16 etc.

Blick. Hom. 11, 10 etc. etc.

sēo ēadige fǣmne, scā Maria — a very popular expression — 'the Blessed Virgin'. Bede 292, 8. Blick. Hom. 9, 18. Wulfst. 144, 33.

sēo hālige fǣmne, 'the Holy Virgin'. Blick. Hom. 5; 29, 36 etc.

ðæt mǣden Maria. Ælf. Hom. I, 32, 144.

ðæt clǣne mǣden, „the pure Virgin", extremely frequent: Wulf. 126, 8. 121, 8, 15, 13. 121, 11.

Similar: *sēo unwemme fǣmne,* „the immaculate Virgin". Blick. Hom. 105, 19. *ðæt mǣre mǣden,* „the illustrious Virgin". Wulf. 14, 17. 22, 4.

More or less peculiar to poetry are such expressions as: *sēo beorhte (Maria),* „the Bright One". El. 783.

sēo clǣneste cwēn ofer éorðan. Cri. 276.

sēo æðele cwēn. Cri. 1199.

cwēna sēlost. Men. 168.

From *cwēn* gentlewoman, lady of birth.

wīfa wúldor, „Glory of women". Men. 149.

ealra fǣmnena wyn, „Joy of all virgins." Hy. 3, 26. Similar: *ēalā, wīfa wynn!* Cri. 71.

Ēalā þū, hlǣfdige, ealles middan — éardes cwēn! „Domina mi! Domina!" Lives 23 B, 487.

ðæt þū sīe hlǣfdige hālgum meahtum wúldorweorudes and worldcúndra hāda únder heofenum and helwara! „Mistress of the inhabitants of Heaven, Earth and Hell." Cri. 284.

As *mægð* and *mǣg* (f. properly = kinswoman), *virgo, femina:*

mægð Maria! Cri. 176.

ēalā, fǣmne geóng, mægð Maria! Cri. 35. 175.

mægð mānes lēas, „without reproach". Cri. 36.

mægeð unmǣle, „immaculate". Cri. 721.

mægeð mōdhwatu, 'virgo strenua animi'. Hy. 11, 16.

sēo ēadige mǣg. Cri. 87.

As the Heavenly Bride, *„brȳd"*:

brȳd bēaga hroden, „Bride adorned with a diadem". Cri. 292.

brȳd þæs sēlestan swegles bryttan, „Bride of the most excellent Dispenser of the sky". Cri. 280.

As „Temple of the Son of God":

béarn ēacen godes. Nū ic his tempel eam. Cri. 206.

For a more extended list of expressions vid. Diss. Jansen, p. 18 et seq.

The Virgin, in her quality of „Mother of God", is called:

Marie, mōdur Crīstes. Reisesegen VIII, 17. Lives III, 252.

Maria godes cynnestre (= cennestre). Ælf. Hom. I, 354, 20.

ðēre ēadigan Marian godes cennestran. I, 436, 5.

ðǣre gesǣligan godes cennestran. I, 438; 6. 546, 8. — From *cennestre, -an,* wf., *matrix, mater; cennan,* to bear.

þǣre hālgan cennestran, „sanctae Dei genetricis". Lives 23 B, 470. Very similar: 23 B, 430, 486, 545, 566, etc. in Ælfric.

All these expressions, whether of prose or poetry, bear eloquent witness to the pious adoration of the Anglo-Saxon for the Virgin mother of Jesus.

Furthermore, as might be expected, the prose terms reflect in a high degree — the poetic much less so — those figures of speech which were in vogue in the ecclesiastical Latin of the time. Compare A.-S. *sancta, ēadiȝ, ȝesǣliȝ, hāliȝ, clǣne, unwem, mānesléas, unmǣle, Hlǣfdiȝe, cwēn, mōdur, cennestre.*

On the other hand such expressions as *sēo beorhte Maria, sēo æðele cwēn, wīfa wúldor, fǣmnena wyn, wīfa wyn,* we may claim as native products.

§ 36. 2. **Prophets.**

The O. E. term for prophet is everywhere and for all periods *wītega, wītga,* wm. The word is properly a Common Westgermanic substantive formed from the adj. A.-S. *wītig,* German. **wītags,* „wise", root *wĭt-* (Gr. *Ϝιδ-*), which latter forms a gradation-series with O. E. *wāt* (I „wot"), Germanic **wait* (Gr. *Ϝοιδ-α*). O. H. G. *wîzzago,* N. H. G. *Weissager,* shows a popular contamination with *sagen,* to say.

The fundamental meaning of *wītega* was, then, Wise One, One who Knows, originally, perhaps, „Seer"; cf. O. H. G. *wîȝac* which still had the meaning „seeing", „marking", „divining", in the compound *fora-wîȝac, praesagus.* On the suffix *-ig, -ag,* vid. Kluge: „Nomin. Stammbildungslehre", § 202—209.

A few examples will suffice:

hālige wītegan. Christi Höllen. 95.

Drihten cīdde ðurh þone wītgan. Past. 27, 13.

Propheta, wītega. Ben. R. 3, 13.

swā sē wītega sánȝ. Men. 59.

„*Wītega*" can likewise denote heathen prophets, Magi: thus we have: „*wītgan*", the Magi. Dan. 41.

þā answarode wulfheort cyning (i. e. Nebuchadezzar) *wītgum sīnum.* Dan. 135.

The feminine of *wītega, wītegestre* (cf. *cenn-estre* '*genetrix*') 'prophetess', occurs once:

Tyn mǣdena . . . þē man hēt Sibillas, þæt synd wītegestran. Ælf. Grein 10, 31.

§ 37. Poetic and rare for prophet is *boda-an,* i. e. 'messenger', Ger. *Bote,* „one who proclaims a (divine) message — *bodscipe*", i. e. = *propheta* in the original sense of 'proclaimer', 'utterer', *προφήτης,* from *φημί,* 'I say'.

Thus Manna mōd 4:

mē frōd wita on fýrndagum sægde, snottor ār, súndorwúndra fela; wórdhórd onwrēah wītgan lārum, béorn bōca, glēaw, bodan ærcwide.

In the same sense, the derivative *spellboda,* 'proclaimer of message', from *spell,* 'narration', *'historia', 'sermo'*:

Daniel . . . godes spelboda. Dan. 533, 743.

Godes spelboda (Job considered as a prophet, cf. 549) Phoen. 571.

geāra iū godes spelbodan (= the Apostles as prophets) ... *þurh wītedōm eal ānemdon swā hit nū góngeð.* Gū. 11.

The term *Godes spelbodan* is used, further, in A.-S. poetry to designate:

The three youths in the fiery furnace: Dan. 230, 465.

The angels: Gen. 2494.

The angel Gabriel: Cri. 336.

§ 38. Wulfstan employs the learned form *propheta,* but titularly and only in one passage:

ðās ðíng gewītegode Isaias propheta be Judēan. Wulf. 48.

In the Latin this combination is very frequent: *Isaias propheta, Samuel propheta,* etc. whence the corresponding O. E. phrase.

§ 39. Prophesying, prophecy, is *wītegung* and *wītedōm* (*wītigdōm*), both formed from *wīteg-a*; in addition to these we find in the Aldhelm glosses the expression *forewītegung* i. e. 'foreknowledge'.

Examples.

sē grimma wītedōm ðæs biscopes wæs gefylled, „dira antistetis praesagia“. Bede 198, 12.

þurh wītedōmes gāst, „per prophetiae spiritum“. Bede 200, 20.

eloquia, sermones, wītedōmas. Bout. Ald.: *divina Prophetarum oracula.* Giles Ald. p. 4.

divinorum eloquiorum, wītedōma vel godcúndra spreca. Bout. Ald.: *oraculorum.* Ald. Giles p. 21.[1])

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[1]) [Cp. also Napier, Old English Glosses.]

þurh wītigdōm wihte āþencean. Dan. 146.

wītedōm occurs further: Cri. 212. El. 1153. Phoen. 548. Gū. 12.

ðæt sȳ gefylled Esaias wītegung, „prophetia Esaiae“. Mt. 13, 14.

In Grein *wītegung* does not appear.

vaticinatione, forewītegunge. Bout. Ald. Giles Ald. p. 14.

praesagiorum, forewītegunge. Bout. Ald. Giles Ald. p. 7.[1])

From *wītega,* prophet, is formed the verb *wītegan,* to prophesy:

hē sprǣc þurh wītegan þe wītegodon ýmbe Crīst. Ælf. Grein 2, 18.

Drihten! Drihten! hū ne wītegode wē on þīnum naman? „nonne in nomine tuo prophetavimus?“ Mt. 7, 22.

§ 40. In order to designate the astrologers and Magi of the Chaldeans the compounds *tungol-wītga* i. e. 'star-prophet', '*astro-logus*', and *dēofol-wītga* 'devil's prophet', magician; (cf. Lat. '*vates diabolicus*') were formed.

Note. O. E. *dēofol* 'devil' is derived from Gr. Lat. *diabolus* probably through the medium of Gothic. Vid. Kluge in 'Wörterbuch' under '*Teufel*', and Grd.[2] I, 359.

Examples.

þā túngol-wītegan fram ēast-dǣle, Magi. Mt. 2, 1.[1])

dēofulwītgan. Dan. 128 (only passage in Grein).

§ 41. **3. Patriarchs.**

The Lat. *patriarcha* is rendered in O. E. chiefly by *hēahfæder,* lit. 'High-father', in O. H. G. *hôhfater.* In addition to the above, the term *éald-fæder,* 'Old father', is sometimes used for patriarch, O. H. G. *Altfater,* O. N. *aldarfaðer.* Cf. also § 142.

Examples.

Jacobus sē hēahfæder. Past. 101, 15.

Jacob gestrýnde twelf suna, ðā sind gehātene twelf hēahfæderas. Hom. II 190, 25.

hū Jacob cwæð, sē hēahfæder. Athelstan. I § 2. Lat. '*pater excelsus*'.

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[1]) [Cp. also Napier, Old English Glosses.]

oð Abrahames tīman þæs éaldan hēahfæderes. Ælf. Grein 4, 6.

Etc. Etc.

In poetry:

hēahfæderas. An. 877. Similar: Exod. 357. Hö. 47. *betweox hēahfæderum and hāligum wītegum.* Vom jüngsten Tage. 284.

Etc.

In both poetry and Prose we find *hēahfæder* at times employed as an appellative of God the Father (cf. O. H. G. *hôh-fater,* Lat. '*pater excelsus*' = *deus*); see Wulfstan 230, 29. Lind. Rush. Mk. 14, 36. Kreuz 134.

Note. For *hēah-fæder* = „*Archimandrita*" vid. 'Abbot'; in the sense of „patriarch of the Church" vid. 'patriarch' § 142.

§ 42. *Éald-fæder* as 'patriarch':

þæt þæt þa éaldfæderas æfter lángsumere elcunge únderféngon. Hom. II 80, 20. Further: II 80, 12.

legat unus collationes vel vitas patrum, oððe on éaldfædera līfa. Ben. R. Log. 74, 11. Very similar Ben. R.[1])

Éaldfæder occurs also in the sense of 'forefather' generally:

Þū . . . forðfærst . . . . tō þīnum éaldfaederum, ad patres tuos. Gen. Grein 15, 15.

Drihten ðā forgeaf Israhēla béarnum eallne þone éard swā swā hē ǽr behēt heora éaldfæderum, „patribus eorum". Jos. 21, 41. Similar, Nicod. 504, 24.

Note 1. Declined in each member the compound '*éald fæder*' signifies 'grandfather':

hēo (i. e. Ruth) *wearð geǽwnod Iessan éaldan fæder.* Ælf. Grein 6. i. e. 'Boaz, the grandfather of Jesse'. Similar: Chron. D, 1016.

Note 2. I have been unable to discover anywhere in A.-S. a **hēafod-fæder,* corresponding to the Old Norse *hǫfoþfaþer.*

True, Bos. Toll. gives us a '*hēafodfæder*' but entirely without warrant: Bos. Toller copies from Lye, Lye from Somner; Somner quotes no passage. Even Taranger (p. 407) commits the same blunder.

§ 43. 4. **The Apostles.**

In order to designate the term 'apostle' the A.-S. adopts the Latin word in the forms *apostol* and, with aphaeresis of the *a, postol* (rare).

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[1]) *Éaldfæder* in the two last passages can mean one of the Christian Fathers.

On the form *postol* cf. Pogatscher § 246.

Note. Very rare are the forms: *apastol* Bede 418, 28 and *apostel*: *ðā twelf apostelas.* Ælfric's Past. 10, 12.

Besides apostol we find, scattered or poetic, native expressions; viz. *ǣrendwreca, -wraca, -raca,* 'messenger', and *spellboda,* 'message-relater', 'messenger'; but these terms are employed principally to denote messengers generally and concern us in this place, therefore, but little.

Apostol (*postol*) st. m., inflected like an ordinary *a*-stem, save that in the plural, besides *apostolas,* the learned form *apostoli, ða apostoli,* occurs.

This plural is especially liked by Ælfric. Cf. Hom. II 482, 18, 25. 486, 25 etc.; and Blickling Hom. 229, 2. For parallel cases vid. *discipulus, discipul,* and under 'Pharisees', 'Jews'.

§ 44. *Postol* st. m., according to Kahle, p. 12, the prototype of O. N. *postole,* is inflected precisely like *apostol.*

This form occurs but twice: viz. in the North. and Merc. Gospels, but the pronunciation *'postol'* must have been very much in vogue among the people even if it were not generally recognized by the written language, for otherwise it is incredible that it should have been adopted by a foreign tongue in preference to the more usual *'apostol'*: cf. O. N. *postole* < O. E. *postol.*

Examples.

Ðāra postolra. Lind. Lk. p. 2, 2.

ðā ðe cwǣdun ðās tō ðǣm postolum. Rush. Lk. 24, 10.

Note. In contrast to O. E. and O. N., the O. H. G. prefers the native '*boto*' (Ger. *Bote*), '*apostolus*'. Only rarely we find the word '*postul*' < *apostolus.*

§ 45. *ǣrendwreca* (*-wraca, -raca*) wm., from *ǣrend* (Mod. Eng. *errand*) message — probably related to *ār,* Goth. *airus,* messenger — and *wreccan,* probably originally perform, execute.

Note. On the forms.

The numerous forms fall naturally into three groups:

1) *-wreca*: *ǣrendwreca, ērendwreca, ērenwreca, ērendwrica.*

2) *-wraca*: *ǽrendwraca, ērendwraca, ērendwreaca, ǽrendwrǽca.*

3) *-raca*: *ǽrendraca, ērendraca, ǽrenddraca.*

Sweet (Past. p. 472) observes in explanation of the later form *-raca*: 'the vowel-change [i. e. *-raca* for *-wreca*] seems to point to some confusion with the word *wrecca*, exile'.

To this Kluge remarks (PBB 8, p. 528) that he can not perceive how such a confusion could arise, adding: 'Jetzt ergiebt sich, dass das thatsächlich im späteren ae. herrschende *ǽrendraca* ein jüngeres Substitut für *ǽrendwreca* ist; bei dem Aussterben der Formeln mit *-wrecan* in der Bedeutung ausführen, thun, lag *racu*, 'Erzählung', als Anknüpfung für Umdeutung nahe'.

As far as *-raca* is concerned Kluge's explanation may be accepted as correct, as against Sweet who, besides, considers the *-raca* forms to be the normal and the *'w'* in *wreca*, something 'abnormal'.

Thus groups 1) and 3) are disposed of. The second remains however unexplained and appears not to have been considered by K. at all.

Here we have, perhaps, a case of formal contamination of the old form *ǽrendwreca* with the new *ǽrendraca*, the resultant being the mixed form *ǽrendwraca*. This reciprocal influence was much facilitated by the fact that the forms *-wreca* and *-raca* were long used contemporaneously and in the same dialects.

But probably Pogatscher (Anz. f. d. Altertum 1899, p. 16) is right in assuming *ǽrendwraca* (with *a*) to be the older form, which is suggested by the corresponding verb *ǽrend(w)reccan* (= *ǽrendian*; cf. mhg. *botescheften*).

Bede uses chiefly *ǽrendwreca* (44, 11. 62, 30. 88, 30. 116, 6 etc.); likewise Blick. (3. 7. 9 etc.). Lind. has *ērendwreca* (see Cook for all the passages; once *ēren-wreca*: Mk. p. 2, 8) and *ērendraca*: Mt. p. 16, 10. Ælfric employs *ǽrendraca* (Lives 19, 34. 10, 124 etc. Hom. II 482, 30. 120, 30. 130, 30 etc.) which occurs, however, also: Bede 44, 24. 468, 12. Oros. 44, 7, 20. 92, 6, 9. 104, 13, 16 etc. Past. 38, 3 (C). Nicod. 490, 23. 490, 30.

ǽrenddraca occurs: Oros. 5, 1. Past. 39, 3. Bede 50, 26. 58, 5.

ǽrendwraca: Bede 170, 22. 232, 8. Oros. 3, 3.

ērendwraca: D. Rit. 60, 4 (otherwise *-wreca*).

ērendwracu, 'legatio': Rush. Lk. 14, 32.

ērend-wreacu: Rush. Lk. 9, 52.

ērendwrica: O. E. T. 180, 10 (about A. D. 900 — 'apparently Kentish', Sweet.).

ērendwreoca: Rush. Lk. 19, 14.

ǽrendwrǽca: Bede 90, 26.

The passages in which *ǽrendwreca* occurs in the sense 'apostle' are the following:

Apostolus, ǽrendraca. Ælfric's Voc. Wr. W. 155, 5.

Ego enim sum minimus omnium apostolorum qui non

sum dignus vocari apostolus: ic f'rðon (= forðon) am lǣsest allra aposto' (= apostola), sē ðe ic ne am wýrðe ðætte ic sē gicliopad ērendwraca. D. Rit. 60, 3 et seq.

beati Andreae apostoli tui: ērendwrecæs ðīnes. D. Rit. 79, 8.

beatus Andreas apostolus: ēadga And' (= Andreas) ērend' (= erendwreca). D. Rit. 79, 11. D. Rit. has everywhere else '*apostol*'.

hē apostolas gecēas þæt sind ǣrendracan. Ælfric Grein 13.

non est servus major domino suo; neque apostolus major est eo qui misit eum: . . . nē sē ǣrendraca ðonne sēlra, nē ðonne wurðra ðonne sē ðe hine séndeð. Ass. XIII, 205.

ne ǣrenddraca nys mǣrra þonne sē ðe hyne sénde. Jo. 13, 16 ('*apostol*': Rush. Lind.).

§ 46. *Spelboda* (*spellboda*) wm., from *spell* (*spel*) report, narrative, and *boda* messenger (vid. § 37). In the sense 'apostle' the word is found but once, in poetry:

Ȝodes spelbodan (the Apostles considered as prophets — cf. § 37). Gū. 11.

§ 47. The rank, or office, of an apostle is expressed by *-hād* (Ger. *-heit*), 'office', Mod. Eng. *-hood* : *apostolhād.*

My only examples are from the poetry: Ap. 14. Andreas 1651.

We must note finally the adjective *apostolīc,* apostolic, the suffix of which, *-līc,* is properly speaking identical with the O. E. noun *līc,* a body, a corpse; Ger. *Leiche* (as suffix: *-lich*), Goth. *-leiks.*

A few passages will serve as examples:

þēaw þæs apostolīcan seðles, the custom of the Apostolic See. Bede 64, 14.

mid ðām apostolīcan werode. Wulf. 242, 19.

Epithets of the Apostles.

§ 48. Frequently we find them as **teachers**, 'teachers of the people' — 'of the nations', *lāreowas.* The latter expression, however, concerns principally St. Paul — the 'Apostle of the Gentiles':

(Paulus) is geweden ealra ðēoda lāreow. Hom. I, 384, 22. II, 332, 6.

sē ðēoda lāreow sǣde (i. e. Paul). Ibid. II, 330, 19 Etc. frequently.

sē æðela lāreow, 'the noble Teacher' (Paul). Past. 222, 7.

folca lāreow (James). Men. 135 = Heiligenkal. 135.

Cf. the same term used of Christ.

In the following epitheta we seem to breathe again the very spirit of the Anglo-Saxon epics:

ōrettmæcȝas, warriors *-ōret,* battle: An. 664.

ōretta, warrior, soldier: *béorn beaduwe héard, ānrǣd ōretta* (= Andreas). An. 982 et seq.

ēadiȝ ōretta (= Guthlac): Gū. 147.

crīstes cempa, Soldier of Christ (= Andreas): An. 991.

beadurōf, stern in battle: An. 96 and 145 (= Apostle Matthew).

§ 49. We are now to consider the **Apostles as disciples** i. e. the Disciples of Christ.

The O. E. rendition of the Latin *discipulus* is marked by much variation, according as the Disciples were conceived of as subordinates, the servants, of Christ or as his pupils.

In this connection we note the following words:

1. *cniht*: Youth (Past., seldom; New Test., rare; Nicod. 3 ×).

2. *discipul* (Bede, frequent; Rush. Lind., rare; Blick. Hom., frequent; Ælfric and Wulf. rare).

3. *folgere,* follower (Ælfric, rare; poetry once).

4. *gíngra,* Ger. *Jünger* (Bede, frequent; Ælfric, ditto; Oros., Blick., less frequent; Poetry, ditto; Past., several times).

5. *hīeremon,* Lat. *auditor, subditus* (great favorite in Past.; several times in Eccl. Inst.).

6. *lǣringman,* Lat. *discipulus* (Ben. R., once).

7. *léornere,* learner, pupil (very freq. in Rush. Matth.; Blick., several times; Ælfric, once).

8. *léorningcniht,* pupil, disciple (Bede, Wulfstan, Defensor, Nicod., rare; Ælfric and W. S. Gospels, very frequent; Ben. R., once).

9. *léorningman,* pupil (Bede, Ælfric, Eccl. Inst., Ben. R., scattered).

10. *únderþēodda, -þēodd* (Past., Ælfric, Defens., Ben. R.), subject.

11. *þegn,* servant, Lat. *minister* (Lind., Rush., very frequent; Ælfred, Ælfric, Blick., rather frequent; Wulf., frequent; rare in poetry).

Exclusively Northumbrian:

1. *ámbeht.* 2. *émbehtmonn.*
3. *fōstring.* 4. *lārcneht.*

§ 50. This numerous terminology contains but one borrowed word viz. *discipul*; the others are native products (yet see below under *ámbeht!*).

As new formations, patterned after Lat. *discipulus,* properly young learner, little learner, we may consider *léorningcniht, lārcneht, léorningman, lǣringman. Léornere,* on the contrary, is original O. E.

In *hīeremon* and *únderþēodd(a)* the influence of *subjectus, subditus* (Subject, Disciple) appears.

In the case of *gíngra, cniht, þegn, folgere, ámbeht* and *fōstring,* on the other hand, we have ancient Teutonic conceptions; cf. the separate articles below.

The above list also admits, on the whole, a temporal division inasmuch as the words *gíngra, hīeremon, cniht, discipul, léornere* and *þegn* are, in the above senses, more or less peculiar to the older epochs of O. E., while the remainder appear chiefly in later O. E.

Note. The words „the remainder" do not include special North. terms, since all material which might serve as a basis for comparison is wanting here.

§ 51. 1. *cniht* (cf. Mod. Eng. *Knight,* Ger. *Knecht*), youth, disciple:

[*crīst*] *ðonne wólde cniht bīon and wólde ðæt hine mon lǣrde.* Past. 385, 27.

[*Paulus*] *manode his cneoht: discipulum.* Past. 97, 12. Very similar: Past. 385, 30. Further, of disciples generally: Past. 457, 25, 31. 169, 16. 311, 16. Mk. 6, 29.

Disciples of Christ:

æt Iudas his āgenum cnyhte. Ass. XVI, 170. Further: Ass. XVI, 60. Wulf. 17, 10 et seq. Past. 385, 3. Mk. 3, 9. Lk. 19, 29. Nic. 476, 2, 12. 486, 17. 514, 22.

Cniht is not found in this sense in poetry.

§ 52. 2. *discipul, -us,* Lat. *discipulus*:

The following passages will illustrate the O. E. usage in the different cases:

nom. sg., *Bōsles discipul & þegn: „discipulus et minister sacerdotis Boisili“.* Bede 410, 7.

Crīstes discipul. Wulf. 257, 9 (A). Further: Blick. 233, 35. Mt. Lind. 27, 57. Lk. Lind. p. 2, 1. 6, 40.

Iohannes . . . . . his discipulus. Ass. (Æ) 6, 13.

discipulus apostoles: „discipulus apostoli Pauli“. Mt. Lind. p. 8, 14.

nom. plur. *discipulas*: Ass. 13, 232. Mt. Rush. 8, 25. 12, 2. 28, 7, 8, 13. Mt. Lind. 26, 8. Bede 258, 16.

nom. plur. *discipuli: his discipuli.* Hom. I 548, 25. Mt. Rush. 5, 1. Further: Blick. 233, 15. Ælfric, Herrig Vol. 101, p. 315.

dat. plur. *discipulum*: *ūsser Drihten Hǣlende Crīst . . . . séalde his discipulum.* Bede 310, 26 etc. Hom. II 266, 320, 13. Ass. (Æ) 1, 148 etc. Mt. Rush. 26, 26. Ælfric Grein 14, 25. Blick. 225, 7, 11. 231, 29, 30 etc. Ælfric Interr. 486.

With syncope of the *‘u’*: *ðǣm disciplum.* Mt. Lind. 26, 40.

gen. plur.: *ðāra discipula.* Ass. 13, 237.

Not infrequently Latin case-endings are found, often without any regard to the demands of Latin grammar. Thus we have in Blick. *discipulos* both as acc. plur. (225, 13) and as nom. plur. (227, 11). Similarly, as acc. plur. *discipuli*: Blick. 231, 18. 235, 15 etc. Cf. Bede 148, 32: *from ðæs discipuli: „a cujus discipulis“.*

Note. That this confusion of the learned forms did not result from a mere slavish copying of the Latin text is evidenced by the passage from Bede just cited.

The learned feminine *discipula* is found once, viz. in the passage Bede 236, 33 et seq.:

in þǣm (sc. *mynstre*) *sēo gemyngade cyninges dōhtor ǣrest wæs discipula & léornungmon regollīces līfes, ond eft æfter ðon wæs māgister & lāreow ðæs mynstres.*

§ 53. 3. *folgere,* 'follower', disciple — in the latter sense found only a few times (cf. Bos. Toll.):

sē lēofa Hǣlend . . . tǣhte his folgerum. Ass. (Æ) I, 86. Also: ibid. I, 113. V, 174. VI, 7.

Probably also Hom. I, 512, 17: *Godes folgeras, þæt sýnd ðā crīstenan.*

And in the poetry: *hē* [= *Crīst*] *folgeras XL sīne rūnum ārētte.* Glaubensbekenntnis 35.

Of others than the disciples of Christ:

antecrīst . . and his folgeras. Hom. II, 540, 33.

ānes drȳes folgere, „discipulus magi hominis". Hom. I, 468, 8.

Of John the Baptist:

cōmon þā syððan his folgeras. Ælfric, Herrig Vol. 101, p. 321.

§ 54. 4. *Gíngra*, disciple, servant; properly comparative of *geóng*, young. O. H. G. *jungiro.* Cf. the feminine *gíngre,* female servant.

Prose:

[*crīst*] *hine his gíngrum ætēowde.* Blick. 89, 36. 109, 7. Further: Ibid. 45. 131, 16, 31.

sē wéaldende Drihten sǣde ðis bīgspell his gíngrum. Hom. I 328, 10. Similar: Ibid. I 294. 296. 298. 300. 324. 328. 462. 490, 29. 512, 21, 24. II 242. 244, 10, 29. 246, 21, 32. 326. Ass. (Æ) II, 104.

[*Paulus*] *hæfde twēgen gíngran . . ōðer hira wæs hāten Timotheus, ōðer Titus.* Past. 291, 14. Similar: ibid. 181, 14. 267, 8. Oros. 266, 8. Past. 357, 4. 451, 28. Boeth. Sedgef. 9, 5. Hom. I, 4. 364. II, 298. 412. 516. Lives 18, 276. Ben. R. 12, 6.

Poetry:

a) as servant: *drihtnes geóngran* (i. e. Adam and Eve). Gen. 450. Similar: Gen. 277. 291. 407. 458. 515. 546. Sat. 191.

b) as disciple: *gíngran sīne* (i. e. of St. Andrew). An. 427. 849. 896. Similar: Gū. 1035. Disciple of Christ: Sat. 522. 526. 531. 572. An. 1332.

§ 55. 5. *Hīeremon(n)*, disciple, from *monn,* man and *gehīeran, gehȳran,* to hear, to obey. Occurs but rarely of Christ's disciples:

hē ('crīst') cūðe gemetgian his hīeremonnum. Past. 101, 15.

Disciples generally:

[Paulus] spōn his hīeremen: „discipulis". Past. 222, 8.

The word is employed elsewhere in Past. frequently, but in the sense of the Latin *subditus, subjectus,* in contradistinction to *praelatus,* a superior, instructor. Thus:

ðæt hē (i. e. *sē lāreow*) *gecȳðe līfes weg his hīeremonnum: „. . subditis".* Ibid. 81, 2 etc. etc.

Finally we have the word in Eccl. Inst. in the special sense of „member of a parish", „parishioner":

Ēac is gehwylcum mæssepreōste micel þearf þæt hē his hȳremen géorne tyhte & lǽre . . . Ibid. 25; further: Ibid. 26 (2 ×), etc.

Note. The form *hȳrigmon* occurs for *hȳremon* in the following passages: Eccl. Inst. 26. 28. 36.

Before leaving *hīeremon*, parishioner, the derivative *hȳrnes,* parish, *parochia,* should be noted:

ne spane nān mæssepreōst nānne mon of ōðre cyrcean hȳrnysse tō his cyrcan. Eccl. Inst. 14. Similar: Edgar II, 1.

§ 56. 6. *Lǽring-man,* corresponding exactly to the O. N. *lǽrcsveinn,* disciple; cf. *lār,* doctrine, *gelǽran,* to instruct.

My sole example is from a late period of O. E., Ben. R. 20, 6 (*lǽrincman*).

§ 57. 7. *Léornere,* pupil, disciple; also frequently philosopher, stoic:

Drihten gehēt his léornerum. Blick. 131, 20. Similar: 131, 22. 135, 3, 32.

Sē Hǽlend ðā tōbræc ðā hlāfas and séalde his léornerum. Hom. II, 400, 21.

folgadun him léorneras his: „discipuli ejus“. Mt. Rush. 8, 23. Similar: 8, 21. 9; 10, 11 Etc.

§ 58. 8. *Léorningcniht.*

a) Disciple in general:

léorningcnihtas. Past. 24, 8.

fram léorningcnihtum ðæs ēadigan pāpan Sce. Gregories: „a discipulis beati papae Gregorii“. Bede 2, 22. Further: ibid. 4, 5. Hom. I, 480, 5. 486. II, 490 etc. Defens. 204, 12, 13. 205, 8, 19. Ben. R. 20, 25. Mk. 2, 18.

b) Disciple of Christ:

hē gecēas twā and húndseofonti ... him tō léorningcnihtum Ælfric Grein 13, 30 etc. etc. in Ælfric.

Crīst ðæt gebedd his léorningcnihtum tǣhte. Wulf. 20, 16. Similar: Ibid. 17. 10. 21. 290. Mt. 5, 1 etc. Mk. 2; 15, 16 etc. Defens. 14. 62. Cn. I, 22.

Note. The form *léornungcniht* occurs Defens. 206. 4.

§ 59. 9. *Léorningman(n)*, pupil, disciple.

a) In general:

mæsseprēostas sceolon symble æt heora hūsum léorningmonna sceōle habban. Eccl. Inst. 20.

Ic wylle .... biddan ðæt ic mōte his léorningman bēon (disciple of St. James). Hom. II, 414.

mīne ōðre léorningmen: „. . . discipuli (sc. *magi*)“. Hom. II, 414. Similar: Ben. R. 20, 6 (Ms. T.).

b) Of Christ:

ðæs Hǣlendes léorningmen. Hom. II, 438.

þǣra fīf bōca ándgit geopenode ...... Crīst his léorningmannum. Hom. II, 396.

Note. For *léorningmon* as novice vid. § 202.

§ 60. 10. *Underþēodd(a)*, properly participle used as noun from the verb *únderþéoddan* (part. pass. in Ælfred both *únderþīodda* and *únderþīedda*) *subjugare,* to subjugate, therefore an inferior, a subject. This is the sense in which it very frequently occurs in Past.:

on ōðre wīsan ðā únderþīeddan, on ōðre ðā ofer ōðre gesettan: „aliter subditi aliter praelati“. Past. 175, 15 etc. etc.

In the sense of 'disciples':

Be ðisum manode sē apostol Paulus his úndeþēoddan (exhorted his disciples). Hom. I, 512, 26 and in the same sense ibid. I, 320. 544. 604.

on his únderþēoddera mōdum: „in discipulorum mentibus". Ben. R. 10, 18. Similarly: ibid. 10, 21. 11, 12. 13, 6. 139, 12.

I have no passage to show that this expression was used of the disciples of Christ.

§ 61. 11. *þegn* (*þēn*). O. E. *ðegn,* O. H. G. *degan,* signified in the original Germanic the 'retainer', 'servant'. In O. E. the meaning *'minister regis', 'cyninges ðegn'* or simply *'ðegn'* (a member of the newly arisen nobility, not properly speaking of the ancient nobility of blood), was secondarily developed. The word originally belongs to the same root as Grk. *τέκ-νον* and *τίκ-τω*, and denotes accordingly 'child' ('that which is begotten') or 'boy', whence the notion 'servant' was easily deduced.

Another term for disciple, viz. '*cniht',* which is presumably connected with Grk. *γίγνω*, beget, *γίνομαι*, be born, and signifies primarily 'boy', 'youth', then 'servant' in general, experienced in part precisely the same evolution: the meaning became specialized and narrowed, *cniht* being used from the O. E. period on to denote also what is expressed by its Mod. Eng. representative *'knight'*. Cf. on this point Kluge's 'Wörterbuch' under *'Degen'* and *'Knecht'*.

In the usage *ðegn* = *discipulus* Christi the Anglo-Saxon appears to have felt not only the usual meaning of 'servant', '*minister*', but also the higher sense of 'noble retainer' (*minister regis*). The latter conception occurs of course only in poetry or poetical prose where Christ is conceived as a king or powerful prince. In the case of *'cniht',* disciple, on the contrary, we have only the notion 'servant' (vid. the examples).

The following passages will serve to illustrate what has just been said about the A.-S. conception of the *ðegn* as a disciple of Christ:

Philippus and Iacob, ... mōdige mago-þegnas, courageous retainers, warriors. Men. 81 (*mago-u,* child, son, servant, warrior).

(Drihten) his magu-þegne . . . (sc. *Matheus*) *hǣlo & frōfre . . . ābēad.* An. 94. Similarly (referring to Andreas), An. 1207.

mǣrne magu-þegn, 'illustrious retainer' i. e. Andreas. An. 366.

Compare further: *wúldres þegn, ... þēodnes dȳrling, Johannes*: 'Glorious thane, the Prince's darling, John'. Men. 115. Ibid. 130 Peter and Paul are termed *'éaldor-þegnas'* i. e. 'Chief thanes, retainers'.

In very much the same way, it is said of the Apostles Hom. II, 520: *on ðām wǣron ʒecorene twelf hēah-ðegenas Petrus and Paulus, Andreas and Iacobus* etc. Compare with these:

Ic eom Higelāces mǣg and mago-þegn (i. e. *Wīglāf*). Beo. 408.

mago-þegn mōdig Beo. 2758.

mago-þegna þone sēlestan, 'best of knights' (Heyne). Beo. 1406.

mǣrum magu-þegne (of a vassal of Hrothgar). Beo. 2079.

Hīe wórdum ðæt ðām ýldestan éaldor-þegnum cȳðan ēodon (i. e. the ministers of Holofernes) Jud. 242.

For *ðegn* alone as 'knight', 'royal retainer', compare Beo. 194 (*Bēowulf*), 2722 (*Wīglāf*) etc.

On the position of the thane (*ðegn*) in the Anglo-Saxon state vid. the exhaustive article in the 'Glossar' appended to Schmid's 'Gesetze der Angelsachsen', 2nd Ed., and cf. Grd. II [ii] S. 115. Grd.[2] III, 131—133.

The ordinary or prosaic use of *'ðegn'* as an ecclesiastical term is illustrated in the following quotations:

Hǣlend ʒenam his twelf ðegnas. Blick. 15, 5. Similarly: Ibid. 15; 11, 31. 135. 145. 159. 175. 177. 205. Ælf. Hom. II, 242. 244, 10. 262. Lives 23 B 631.

Crīstes þegna sum. Wulf. 257, 9. Sim.: Ibid. 17. 23. 88. 98, 15, 19. 99. 100, 21, 25. 257. Lind. Mt. p. 15; 17. 17; 2, 4, 11. Etc. (vid. Cook for rest).

beforan his (= *Drihtnes*) *ðegnum: „coram discipulis“.* Past. 237, 12. Furthermore: De falsis diis: Kluge's Lesebuch XI 3, 119 et seq. Ælfric Can. 35 (end). Ass. (Æ) II, 62. Ass. XIII, 9, 102, 111, 127, 161, 204. Blooms 352, 12. 352, 4. Boet. Sedgef. 8, 22.

Note. Rush. Mk. Lk. and Joh. employ for *'discipulus'* only *ðegn*; Rush. Mt. 5, 1 has *„his discipuli vel his þegnas"*, otherwise Rush. Mt. uses *'léornere'*.

§ 62. **Special Northumbrian Terminology.** We find in the Northumbrian gospels, in addition to *þegn* and *discipul* already mentioned, also the following renderings of Lat. *discipulus* which do not occur elsewhere in O. E.:

1. *ámbeht,* properly 'servant'. This is an ancient Common-Germanic borrowed word from the Latin *ambactus,* itself an old Gallo-Celtic word meaning literally a 'messenger', 'one sent around' (*amb-,* around). Compare O. H. G. *ambaht,* Goth. *andbahts* and vid. Kluge, Wörterbuch and Pogatscher § 187.

2. *émbehtmonn,* from *monn,* 'man', and *ómbeht, ámbeht, émbeht.* Vid. above.

3. *lārcneht, 'discipulus',* from *lār,* 'doctrine', 'teaching' and *cneht, cniht* (q. v.).

4. *fōstring,* pupil, disciple, from *fōstur,* nourishment.

All examples will be found cited by Cook.

§ 63. Note. Very rarely O. E. *apostol* is found in the sense of Lat. *discipulus* — a confusion that was probably more in vogue among the common people:

Loquebatur Iesus cum discipulis suis in parabolis: „Drihten wæs sprecende . . . tō his apostolum mid bīgspellum". Hom. I, 520.

The Apostles as Evangelists.

§ 64. An evangelist was called in O. E. *godspellere* i. e. proclaimer of the Gospel (*godspel*).

The origin of *'godspel'* has been much disputed, but at present the prevailing view is that the original form was **gōdspell,* i. e. 'good message' (*'ευ-αγγέλιον*). The former theory according to which *godspell* signifies 'divine message', or 'story about God' seems now to be mostly abandoned.

The word is undoubtedly very old, being found in every Germanic dialect excepting the Gothic; however, the primary form **gōd-spel* (after *'evangelium'*) seems at an early period to have been misunderstood by the West Germans who, by connecting the word with *'god',* God, brought about the modification *'godspel'.*

O. N. *guðspiall* is not original but patterned after the O. E. form.

Note. The derivatives *godspellian, godspelbōc, godspellīc* and *godspellisc* will be treated in Part II.

Examples.

Iohannes ðæs godspelleres. Past. 85, 21.

Iohannes sē ʒodspellere. Hom. I, 58.

[*Isaias*] *wītegode be Crīste swīðe ʒewislīce swilce hē godspellere wǣre.* Ælfr. Test. 9, 8.

Rarely '*evangelista*' — probably only a learned form — is found:

æt Stefanes tīde and Sce. Iohannes Evangelista. Cockayne II, p. 294.

5. Martyrs and Confessors.

§ 65. Anglo-Saxon literature contains three expressions corresponding to Lat. '*martyr*', to wit 1) *martyr* (less frequently *martyre*), 2) *cȳðere*, i. e. proclaimer, confessor, and 3) *þrōwere*, sufferer.

Of these the most frequently employed is the borrowed term *martyr*(*e*); *cȳðere* in the sense of martyr occurs only in the writings of Ælfric; *þrōwere* I have encountered (save once in Chron. C) only in North. and in poetry, though the abstract *þrōwung*, '*passio*', is quite frequent in prose.

§ 66. 1. *martyr* (*martir, martyre*), st. m.

Note. On the forms:

The forms in *i* are chiefly late (E. g. Hom. II, 520. 538. 540, 20, 24, 28, 35 etc. Ælfric's Past. 13 etc. Ass. (Æ) VI, 118. IX, 144), for the older period rather rare: Oros. 290, 15 (C). Blick. 167, 24 and a few more places. But even in late O. E. '*martyr*' on the whole preponderates. E. g. Hom. I, 48, 35. 52, 2, 16. 84. 88. 146. 524. 556. II, 82. 386. 544, 19. Ass. (Æ) III, 294. 380. Bl. 25. Wulf. 136. 152. 232 etc.

Examples.

sē hālʒa martyr. Ælfric Lives XIV, 125 etc. etc.

[*hē*] *wearð crīstes martyre.* Oros. 290, 15.

sleʒe hāligra martyra: „caedibus martyrum“. Bede 34, 6.

ðǣr martiras meotode cwēmað. Sat. 655.

sē martyre. Gū. 485.

in circan þǣre hālgan fǣmnan and martires Sce Cecilian; „in ecclesia sanctae martyris Ceciliae“. Bede 422, 1—2.

N. B. Note in the last example cited that the O. E., following the Latin, employs the same form for both genders.

§ 67. 2. *cȳðere,* st. m., from *cȳðan* (root shown in Goth. *kunþs,* Ger. *kund*), 'bear witness', 'proclaim'. The fundamental meaning is therefore 'a witness', as in the prototype Grk. Lat. *martyr.*

Thus we read Mk. 14, 63: *Hwī ȝewilniȝe wē ȝȳt cȳðera: „quid adhuc desideramus testes?“* Etc.

Examples.

Ælfric employs both *martyr* and *cȳðere* without any apparent distinction:

sē forma cȳðere Stephanus ('protomartyr') . . . . Stephanum . . ðone ðe hē ǣr ēhtende martyr ȝemacode. Hom. II, 82, 20 and 24.

As our word does not appear in the sense of martyr elsewhere in O. E., I have given in the following a list of all the passages:

Dionisius, Godes cȳðere. Hom. I, 558, 31.

his hālgan cȳðeres: „martyris sui“. Ibid. 564, 17.

ðæs hālgan cȳðeres līc: „corpus sancti Clementis“. Ibid. 564, 20.

ðurh ðone . . . cȳðere Stephanum: „per hunc martyrem“. Hom. II, 28, 11. Similarly: Lives 2, 378. Hom. I, 46. 48, 10, 32. 50. 52, 23, 25. 384. 402. 422, 30, 32. 424, 7. 426, 29. 430. 434. 450. 542. 558. 564, 17, 20, 27, 32. II, 24, 5, 9, 21, 30. 26. 28 (4 ×). 32, 27. 34, 8, 13, 23. 82. 506. 508.

§ 68. 3. *þrōwere,* Endurer, Sufferer; O. E. *þrōwian,* suffer, endure:

sc̄e Ciricius tīd ðæs ðrōweres. Chron. C. 916.

ȝodes þrōwera (gen. plur.) Gū. 153. Very similar: Gū. 132.

The remaining passages are from the North. and are contained in D. Rit.:

martyrum: ðrōwerana. 44, 17.

Stephanus protomartyr: stephne' ðē fruma ðrōwere. 197, 5.

martyres: ðrōweras. 48, 5. Also: 49, 11 etc.

The feminine is found D. Rit. 77, 14: *Sanctae Ceciliae martyris tuae: ðrōwrœ ðīnrœ.* Similarly: Ibid. 80, 13.

Confessors.

§ 69. Lat. *confessor* is rendered in O. E. by *óndettere, ándettere,* from *ándettan, confiteri* and *ándet, óndet, confessio,* the original form of which **and-hāt* became corrupted at an early date. Compare O. H. G. *antheizan,* Goth. *andhaitan,* to vow, acknowledge. On the form *ándet,* as well as the parallel cases *ōret* (from **or-hāt*), *bēot,* and others, cf. Sievers Gram.[3] § 43, Note 4.

Passages.

Ʒodes ándettere (i. e. St. Alban, Martyr and Confessor). Bede 36, 31. 40, 13.

Confessores, ðœt sind ándeteras. Hom. II, 558, 22.

be apostolum and martirum, ándeterum and hālgum fǽmnum. Ibid. 520. Very similar: 386. Further: Ibid. I, 476. II, 498. 558, 23, 29, 32. Ælfric's Past. 19.

Eusebii confessoris: óndetteres. D. Rit. 65, 4.

Marco confessore: marc' óndetere. Ibid. 72, 5 etc.

§ 70. A few passages in late texts show instead of *ándettere* the Latin word. The sing. seems to have been declined like a native noun of the strong declension, the plur. retaining the Latin case-endings:

tō mœniges confessores mœssedœge. Lk. 12, 35 (edge).

ānes confessores mœssedœg. Mt. 10, 26 (edge). 24, 42 (edge).

ðā œðelan confessores. Ass. (Æ) IV, 146.

ðā clǣnan confessores. Ibid. VI, 119.

ðurh apostolas and martyres and confessores. Wulf. 232. Further: Ass. (Æ) IV, 27. Ælfric's Past. 19. 31. 40.

§ 71. **Martyrdom**, the witness or death of a martyr, '*martyrium*', is expressed in O. E. by

martyrdōm (O. H. G. *martartuom, -toam*):

His . . . martyrdōme wýrðe: „ejus martyrio condigna“. Bede 40, 26.

Hē is fyrmest on martyrdōme. Ælf. Hom. II, 34, 22.

þrōwedon . . . . mǣrne martyrdōm. Men. 126. And in poetry elsewhere: Ibid. 145. Gebete IV, 80.

Etc. Etc.

Martyrhād, 'martyrium' (rare):

Ne hiora martirhāda won wēron heofonlīco wúndor. Bede 416, 30.

Duodecima (Sc. *remissio peccatorum*) *est martyrium: „sēo twelfte is martyrhād“.* Con. Ecgb. 2 (end), and likewise (*'martirhād'*) Poen. Ecgb. IV, 63.

Hē martyrhād mōde gelufade. Gū. 443.

Martyrung st. f., passion, *'passio',* O. H. G. *martyrunga* — (rare):

Ymbe Crīstes tācnunga and ymbe his martyrunga: „de passione Christi“. Oros. 254, 24.

§ 72. The O. E. uses, however, by far the most frequently the term

þrōwung (*-ing*) st. f., properly *'passio',* 'suffering' (of a martyr, and in general), 'woe', any 'passion' (cf. *tumultus et conluctatio passionum: gewinn þrōwunga.* Defen. 82, 3; and similarly ibid. 204). Thus the O. E. word coincides in meaning pretty thoroughly with the Lat. *'passio',* from which it derives its ecclesiastical sense of 'martyrdom', 'passion of Christ'.

Note. Notwithstanding this ample use of *þrōwung,* however, the Latin term was also employed in the special sense of 'biblical description of Our Lord's passion', designating those portions of the Gospels which describe the passion of Christ. All the passages will be found in the West Saxon version, written on the margin. *'Passio'* is used as a strong masculine noun:

Đes passio gebyrađ on tīwes dæg on đǣre palmwucan. Mk. 14, 1. Very similarly: Lk. 22, 1. *Đes passio gebyređ on lánga frīga-dæg.* Jo. 18, 1.

Passages.

đā þrōwunge þāra hāligra martyra. Bede 40, 19.

his đrōwunge and martyrdōme wýrđe. Ibid. 40, 26. Etc., etc.

þæs hālgan godspelleres þrōwunge: „passionem sanctam“. Hom. II, 476, 15. Similarly: Ibid. II, 480. I, 418 etc. Wulf. 270, 1 etc.

æfter Crīstes þrōwunge. Hom. II, 294, 14. 298. 420. I, 438 etc. Wulf. 269 etc. Ælfred Einl. 49, § 1. Bl. 171 etc.

dryhtnes þrōwinga (acc. plur.). Cri. 1180.

ðæt hālige trīow ðīnre ðrōwunga. Hymnus 28.

him God wólde æfter þrōwinga þone ȝeȝýldan ðæt hē martyrhād mōde ȝelufade. Gū. 442.

Etc. Etc.

§ 73. 'To die a martyr's death', 'suffer martyrdom' is *þrōwian', Lat. 'pati'*:

On ðā tīd on Breotone wæs þrōwiende Scs. Albanus. Bede 34, 8.

Wǣron ēac swylce þrōwiende on ðā tīd Aaron and Iulilius. Ibid. 40, 30.

'To condemn to martyrdom', 'to martyr' is expressed by the following:

1. *marterian* (*martyrian, ȝemarterian*), Lat. *martyrizare:*

hīe Petrus and Paulus ȝemartredon. Oros. 262, 4.

Simon and Iudas samod wǣron ȝemartyrode on Persida lánde for Crīstes ȝelēafan. Ælfric T. 15, 36.

hē mōt . . . . ȝewyrcean ðæt Enoh and Elias ðurh þone þēodfēond ȝemartirode wéorðað. Wulf. 273, 25.

2. *Martyr ȝedōn,* 'make a martyr':

Gōdenrīc Gotena cyning ȝedȳde fela martyra on his þēode crīstenra monna. Oros. 288, 19.

3. *Martyr ȝemacian* (same as *martyr ȝedōn*). Hom. II, 82, 24.

§ 74. A book in which the lives and acts of the martyrs are set forth — a martyrology — was termed in Anglo-Saxon usually *martyr-racu,* from *racu,* 'narrative'; less frequently *þrōwung-rǣding,* 'passion-reading', seems to have been employed.

By the side of this native terminology, however, the Latin word, unchanged or, less frequently, inflected as a weak substantive, is found.

Examples are rare.

Hi wóldon ðisra hāligra martyra martyr-race āwrītan: 'martyrium'. Ælfric Lives XXIII, 333. Similarly, ibid. 342. 773.

Tunc residentibus cunctis legatur martyrlogium: „sī rǣdd þrōwung-rǣding“. De C. M. 385, 8.

ðis is Alwoldes bisceopes cwyde, ðæt is, ðæt hē geann . . . ordulfe twēgra bōca: hrabanus and martyrologium. Thorpe, Charters and Doc. X, 9 (Anno 1008—1012).

martyrologium be sýmbeldagum hāligra martyra on dǣre ealle ðā ðe ic gemētan mihte, nales ðæt ān, hwilce dæge, ac ēac swilce hwilce cyne compes oððe únder hwilcum dēman hīe middan géard oferswīðden, ic géornlīce āwrāt. Bede 484, 19.

a puero resurrectio domini . . . legitur quanquam in martyrlogio id non habetur: „on martirlogian“. De C. M. 400, 2.

§ 75. **Iohn the Baptist** may be considered here.

The Lat. *Iohannes Baptista* is rendered in O. E. chiefly by *Iohannes sē fulluhtere* (earlier *fulwihtere*), from *fulwiht* st. n., i. e. the ecclesiastical *'consignatio'*, or 'full consecration, as distinguished from the *'prima signatio'* of the catechumens (expressed by *crīstnung, gecrīstnian* — cf. § 22); from **wīhan*, Ger. *weihen*, 'to consecrate'; Goth. *weihan*, O. H. G. *wīhan*.

The view expressed by some etymologists (Vid. Bos. Toll., and Skeat; the latter repeats the antiquated and erroneous view even in the latest edition of his dictionary — 1898),[1]) that *fullian*, 'baptize', and *fullian*, to 'full' or whiten clothes are identical, is undoubtedly erroneous. According to these etymologists both words are derived from the Lat. *fullare*, to whiten, to cleanse.

But the O. E. *fullian, -ode*, baptize, is only the later form of *fulwian* (< **full-wīhan*), 'to complete the consecration or sacrament of baptism', and consequently has, etymologically, nothing in common with *fullian, fullare.*

By the side of *fulwihtere* appears, occasionally, *fulwihtwer*; this form is in all probability due to popular derivation from *fulwiht* and *wer*, 'man'.

Examples.

sēo foremǣre gebýrd Sancte Iohannes þæs fulwihtweres. Blick. 161, 4.

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[1]) [but not repeated in the edition of 1901.]

Iohannes sē fulwihtere. Ibid. 167, 19 etc. etc.
Iohannem ðone fulluhtere. Ben. R. 134, 14. Etc. etc.

§ 76. Sometimes the original Latin phrase is found either unaltered or declined as a weak masculine:

fram Adame oð Iohannem Baptistam. Hom. II, 70.

Hēr Iohannes Baptista atȳwede twām munecon . . . his hēafod. Chr. F. 448.

on Sce Iohannes Baptistan (sc. *naman*). Blick. 205, 16.

With the wrong Lat. case-ending:

(*ðis folc secgð þæt þū eart*) *Iohannes Baptistam.* Lk. 9, 19 (the Lat. text reads here '*Iohannes Baptistam*').

§ 77. Note. In the Northumbrian and Mercian dialects we have the anglicized forms: *bæstere, bæcere, bæchere, bæzere, bædzere, bezere* (*-a*) and *bæðcere* — all more or less corrupted from the original form **baptistere.*[1])

Bæðcere, the last mentioned, was still further corrupted by being popularly associated with the native *bæð, baðian.*

The passages in which these forms occur are as follows: — *bæstere*: *Joannes Baptista, bæstere vel fulwihtere.* Lind. Mt. 3, 1.

bæcere: *Iohannis baptiste, ioh' bæcere.* D. Rit. 56, 8, 15, 17. 67, 21. 196, 5.

bæchere: *ioh' bæchere.* Ibid. 56, 6.

bæzere: *iohannes sē bæzere.* Rush. Mt. 14, 2. 11, 11, 12.

bædzere: *iohannes sē bædzere.* Rush. Mt. 16, 14. 17, 13.

bezere (*-a*): *iohannes sē bezere.* Rush. Mt. 14, 8. 3, 1.

bæðcere: *Iohannis Baptistae, bæðcere.* Lind. Mt. p. 14, 3.

Of the many epithets and designations of the Baptist in vogue in A. S. literature the following may serve as characteristic examples:

§ 78. *crīstes fulwihtfæder,* 'Christ's sponsor in baptism'. Blick. 205, 17.

The following passage from the Blickling Homilies is especially characteristic:

Hē [i. e. St. John] *wæs gelīc ȝodes énglum & hē wæs bēme* ('a Trumpet'), *Crīstes fricca* ('Crier', 'Proclaimer') *on þysne middanȝéard and wæs ȝodes suna spellboda* ('Messenger', 'Ambassador') *and Seȝnbora* ('Colorbearer') *ðæs ufancúndan*

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1) [Cp. Bülbring, Altenglisches Elementarbuch I § 521.]

kyninges and firena forgifnes and gerihtnes hǣðenra ðēoda . . . sē nīwa ēorendel ('Dawn') *Sanctus Iohannes.* Ibid. 163, 20 ff.

As *'Godes, crīstes, éngel',* i. e. in the literal sense of 'messenger', Lat. *angelus*:

sē Hālga Gāst . . . . be Sce Iohanne cwæð: Ic sénde mīnne éngel beforan þīnre onsȳne . . . . ðæt wæs þonne swīðe hēalīc nama ðæt Scs Iohannes 'éngel' wæs nemned. Blick. 167, 27 ff.

sēo gīfernes . . . ðæs Crīstes éngles. Ibid. 163, 12.

Quite frequently he is dubbed, in imitation of the Latin *precursor, forerynel, forrynel* (once, *fore-íornere*), the Forerunner, Precursor, of Christ. *Rynel,* runner, messenger, from *'rinnan',* run; *íornere,* runner, from *íernan* (from *rinnan* by metathesis), run:

hē (Iohannes) wæs his (Crīstes) forrynel æt ðām ǣrran tōcyme. Hom. I, 356, 21.

his ðæs mǣran Forryneles and Fulluhteres ðíngunge. I, 364.

Iohannes wæs Crīstes forrynel on his ācennednysse and on his bodunge. Ibid. 484, 34.

his forerynel. Ælf. Grein 12, 24.

on ðǣre cyrcan ðæs ēadigan fore-ryneles: „in oratorio sancti Iohannis". Lives 23 B, 626.

Humilitas autem precursor est caritatis et sicut iohannes precursor fuit iesu: „ēadmōdnyss sōðlīce forrynel ys sōðre lufe and ealswā [Iohannes] forrynel wæs hǣlendes. Defen. 23.

Similar to the foregoing is the designation *bydel,* herald, proclaimer, from the same root as the verbs *bodian and bēodan*; cf. O. H. G. *butil,* Ger. *Büttel*:

[Iohannes] wæs Godes bydel and nā God. Hom. I, 352.

ðæs hǣlendes . . . . and Iohannes his bydeles. Ibid. 352, 34.

Sē bydel gebīgde . . . micelne hēap Israhēla ðēode tō heora Scyppende mid his bodunge. Ibid. 356, 15.

ðæs bydeles ācennednys. Ibid. 356, 23. Similar: Ibid. 358, 1. II, 36 (2 ×). Ælf. Grein 12.

The term *bydelas* is, further, applied to the Disciples in their capacity as preachers or proclaimers of the Word:

ðā hālgan bydelas. Hom. I, 584, 22.

ðā bydelas gehǣldon ðurh godes mihte healte and blínde. Ibid. 208, 32. Further: Ibid. I, 310. 390. II, 372. 430. 530. 534, 19. Ass. (Æ) IV, 142.

6. Saints.

§ 79. Corresponding to the Latin *sanctus* is O. E. *hālig*; O. H. G. *heilag,* O. S. *hêlag,* O. N. *heilagr* — all from the common Germanic **hail,* whole, sound in health. In O. E. both the strong and the weak forms are used to render Lat. *Sanctus,* the substantive.

Note. Just how the meaning of *hālig*, *sanctus*, was developed out of the root **hail,* whole, healthy, is not perfectly clear. Still it is likely that *hālig,* which in the pre-Christian period was probably in vogue among the Teutons in the original sense of uninjured in battle, saved, whole, arrived at the sense sanctus through the influence of *hāl,* salvation, salus, in the Christian sense — a meaning acquired presumably soon after the Conversion. The Saved are, in contrast to the Lost, the deceased members of the church, who are then also looked upon as 'sancti', saints.

In this way, or similarly, *hālig*, 'holy', was in all probability developed. Cf. for similar explanations Heyne's 'Wörterbuch' and the Grimm dictionary, sub *'heilig'*. A somewhat different sense-development of *hālig* < *hāl* will be found in the Oxf. Dict., art. *'holy'*.

The words *hǣl* (O. N. *heill*), omen, Augury; *hāl-s-ere*, *hāl-s-ian* (O. H. G. *heilisari*, *heilisôn*), conjurer, to conjure, can be more easily explained. *hǣl*, originally only 'healing', 'health', gradually extended its meaning so as to include the salvation-bringing, health-bringing, omen; in a similar manner *hālsian* was developed from 'save', 'heal', to 'heal by conjuring', and finally to 'conjure' generally.

Examples.

ealra hālgena hālga: Hom. II, 14, 16.

Ȝodes hālgan sind énglas and menn. Hom. I, 538, 23.

On ðone dæg æfter ealra hālgena mæssedæg: 'the day after All Saints'. Chr. (Laud) 1083.

sēo hālge. Jul. 315.

sē hālga. Men. 37. An. 346.

hāliges, 'of the saint'. An. 89, 893.

hālige, 'Saints'. Sal. 40.

hālge (nom. plur.). Jul. 15.

hāligra. Cri. 529.

ðāra hāligra. Ps. 51, 8.

In a single passage in the Past. Care *hālige* translates the Lat. *electi,* 'the Elect':

sīo scýld hine swīðe feorr of ealra hāligra rīme ātuge: „ab electorum numero“. 37, 9.

This use of *hālig* occurs also in Old Norse (heilagr). Cf. Kahle, Acta Germ. p. 25.

§ 80. Note. The noun *hǽlnes* [a) salvation, b) sanctuary] is found but rarely: *nū sint hǽlnesse dagas*, 'Now is the day of salvation'. Past. 246, 14.

on circan and on hǽlnessan, 'in churches and sanctuaries'. Appen. IV, 25; with which compare Appen. IV, 19:

hǽlnes-grið and hād-grið héalde man, 'keep the peace of consecrated places and orders'.

§ 81. In addition to the native term, we occasionally meet in O. E. the borrowed word *sē sanct* < Lat. *sanctus*, 'saint'.

In the forms *Sancte* m. & f., *Sanctus*, and *Sancta* f. (vid. sub. 'Virgin Mary'), *sanct* is used as a title and is extremely frequent, being usually abbreviated into *Sc̄e, Sc̄s, Sc̄a,* and but rarely inflected. The following are examples of the inflected forms:

habbe hē Godes curs . . and Sc̄es [Sanctes] Petres. Earle, Land. Ch. p. 259.

hē ʒeseah Sc̄m [= Sanctum] Albanum. Bede 34, 31.

in āre Sc̄i Martini. Ibid. 62, 2.

on Scæ [Sanctae] Marian noman. Bl. 205, 15.

The nominative in *-us*:

Sc̄s [= Sanctus] Pauwlus. Bl. 43 etc., and passim everywhere.

Uninflected forms:

Intō sanct paule. Earle, Land. Ch. p. 215 (anno 997); and very similar ibid. (2 ><).

wið sancte peter. Earle, Land. Ch. p. 227., etc. everywhere.

in Sc̄e [= Sancte] Petres mynstre. Bede 116, 16 etc. everywhere.

Sanct as the independent substantive, 'Saint': *tō þām æðelan* [sc. *éngla órdfruma*] *hnigan him sanctas.* Sat. 240.

Sanctas síngað. Ibid. 355.

ealra sancta sýmbel. Men. 200.

basilius . . . ēode . . tō ðān Sce [= Sancte] þe on ðǽre cyrcean læg. Lives 3, 255.

be þæs sces [= *sanctes*] *wæpnum.* Ibid. 258. Similar, ibid. 264.

Hwæt, ðā Turonisce . . þone sanct ferodon tō þǣre ylcan byriȝ. Hom. II, 518, 27.

Returning to *hālig,* we have now to note the following derivatives:

§ 82. 1. *hālgung, 'consecratio',* consecration, ordination.

a) Ordination: *sēo hālgung . . . bisceopes.* Chr. A, 984.

Etc. Etc.

b) Consecration of a church, etc.:

ðā ȝesomnade sē cýng (*Salomo*) *ealle his witan tō ðǣre hālgunge* (i. e. of the Temple). Wulf. 278, 3.

etc.

Quite frequently is found, in stead of the simple word, the compound *cyric-hālgung,* which not only designates the consecration of a church, but is used quite generally:

tō Salomones cyrichālgunge. Wulf. 281, 7.

æt þǣre éaldan cyrichālgunge (i. e. of the Temple in Jerusalem). Ibid. 280, 21.

Etc.

§ 83. The verb corresponding to *hālig* and *hālgung* is (*ȝe*)*hālgian,* to consecrate; Ger. *heiligen*:

a) to ordain a priest, consecrate a king, etc.:

tō bisceope gehālgod. Chron. C, 980.

hē hine tō cyninge ȝehālgode. Chron. A, 853.

Etc. Etc.

b) to consecrate a building:

þonne wē cyrican hālgiað. Wulf. 278, 18. Similar: Ibid. 279, 21.

tō hālgianne ðæt mynster æt Eofes hāmme. Chron. D, 1054.

Etc.

§ 84. 2. *hālignes* (*-nys, -nis*), str. f.

a) State of being holy, Lat. *Sanctitas*:

for heora hālignesse. Blick. 155, 31.

on hālignesse. Lk. 1, 75.

Etc. Etc.

b) Later, from the abstract meaning *'sanctitas'*, was developed the concrete *'sanctuarium'*, holy place, sanctuary; cf. the same change in the Latin *sanctimonium*, 'holiness', in Middle Latin (even in Augustine) also 'the sanctuary'; see Du Cange under *'sanctimonium'*.

The passages in which the O. E. word occurs are rather rare, although the first dates as far back as the 9th Century (about A. D. 850 — cf. O. E. T, p. 184):

sanctimonium tuum Domine quod preparaverunt, hālignisse ðīne. Vesp. Hymns 5; 32. O. E. T.

si quis ecclesiam dei denudaverit vel sanctimonia violaverit, anathema sit: „sē ðe . . . . hālignessa grið brece . . .“ Wulf. 68.

hālignessa sýndon tō griðlēase wīde and godes hūs sýndon tō clǣne berȳpte, „the sanctuaries are without peace, and God's houses are plundered“ (Wulfstan bemoans the miseries of his native land). Wulf. 158.

We may note here, further, that *hālignes* also designates the Tabernacle and the Temple in the Old Testament; this use of the word occurs in Past., the plural being used:

inngóngende & ūtgóngende beforan Gode tō ðām hālignessum: „ingreditur et egreditur sanctuarium in conspectu Domini“. Past. 93, 7.

Also the Holy of Holies, *sanctuarium, sancta sanctorum,* is expressed by *hālignes* (sing. or plur.):

„ðǣre hālegestan hālignesse gimmas: sanctuarii lapides“. Past. 135, 12.

betwux ðām hālegestan hālignessum: „intra sancta sanctorum“. Past. 135, 9.

Both expressions seem to be partial simulations of the Lat. *sancta sanctorum.*

In a purely figurative sense, our word is employed in the following passage: *ðā ðonne berað godes fatu, ðā ðe ōðerra monna sāula underfōōð tō lǣdanne . . . tō ðǣm innermestan hālignessum: „. . . animas aeterna sacria perducendas suscipiunt“.* Past. 77, 3 et seq.

c) In the same way as the sense just discussed under b), arose the meaning *hālignes* = sacred relic.

The three instances of this sense known to me are all late, and are found in the Legend of St. Veronica (Ass. XVI):

āgif mē ðā hālignysse ðe ðū myd þē hæfst (i. e. *'ðæt rēaf ðæt sē sylfa hǣlend werede'*, vid. l. 248), 237.

sēo hālignis hym wæs tō broht. 245.

Veronica . . . sǣde ðæt hēo nāne hālignyssa myd hyre næfde. „. . had no relics.“ 239.

Note. The earliest example of *hālignes* in this sense is, according to the Oxf. Dict., to be found in M. E. anno 1175.

The above citations prove that the word was used thus fully 100 years earlier.

§ 85. 3. *hāligdōm* str. m., a) State of being holy (for force of suffix *-dōm*, cf. *hǣðendōm*, § 16). This, the fundamental meaning of the word, seems to have been at an early date supplied by *hālignes*; for we find but few instances in O. E. where *hāligdōm* = *'sanctimonia'*, holiness. Still, it must have always retained in this sense a limited vogue, for as late a work as the Orrmulum, in M. E. times, is acquainted with it; cf. Mätzner's 'Wörterbuch' to his 'Altenglische Sprachproben' (only one passage).

Examples.

Hwæt tācnað ðonne ðæt góld . . . būton ðā hēanesse ðæs hāligdōmes? „excellentia Sanctitatis“. Past. 133, 14.

ðæt is līcettung hāligdōmes, a simulating of holiness. Past. 439, 23. Similar: Ibid. 439, 34.

hāligdōm, sanctimonia. D. Rit. 100, 6.

mycel is sē hāligdōm and sēo wéorðung sce Iohannes. Blick. 167, 16.

To this abstract meaning of *hāligdōm* was soon added, as in so many cases, one or more concrete meanings: first of all, any holy thing or consecrated object; and then in particular churchbuildings and the relics of saints. This brings us to —

§ 86. b) *hāligdōm* = *'sacramentum'*, Holy Communion (rare):

sacramentum perceperunt, „hǣligdōm . . onfǣngon“. D. Rit. 30, 9.

cenae eius mysticae panditur sacramentum: „. . . hāligdōm“. Lind. Mk. p. 5, 11.

divini sacramenti archana: „godcúndes hāligdōmes dīglū“. Defens. 54, 2.

per fidem sacramenti: „þurh geleāfan hāligdōmes“. Ibid. 136, 9. very similar: ibid. 137, 4, 6.

§ 87. c) *hāligdōm* = *'Sanctuarium',* sacred building, Sanctuary; extensively used, although by no means so popular as *hāligdōm* d):

bringe his hlāford hine tō þæs hāligdōmes dura: „applicabitur ad ostium et postes (sc. *tabernaculi*)“. Exod. Gr. W. 21, 5.

þā burh Hierusalem ðǣr bið heora hāligdōm, the Jewish Sanctuary i. e. the Temple. Ass. (Æ) IX, 136. For other examples vid. Bosworth-Toller.

§ 88. d) *hāligdōm,* — 1. consecrated object, *'sanctum':*

beforan ðǣre earce ðe sē hāligdōm on wæs ðæs temples: „coram testamenti arca“. Past. 103, 5.

2. *'Sanctuarium', 'reliquiae',* relics.

This sense of *hāligdōm* is the most frequent of all; the word in this sense occurs almost exclusively in the singular and very often collectively — for instance of the plural, see below:

on þone Drihten þe ðēs hāligdōm is fore hālig: „in illo Deo pro quo sanctum hoc sanctificatum est“. Appen. X, 1—2.

As a collective noun:

hāligdōm and hālige bēc hándlizan: „reliquias et sacros libros manu tractare“. Poen. Ecgb. III, 4.

gā man mid hāligdōme ūt and mid hāligwætere. Wulf. 173, 13; Similar ibid. 181, 3.

begān ūre zebedu, and fylizan ūrum hāligdōme ūt and inn. Hom. I, 246.

Etc. etc.

The plural occurs: *sanctorum quorum reliquie: „hālgena þāre lāfe, þe sind hālidōmas“* (literal translation of the Latin, affixed as explanation to a gloss). Ben. R. Log. 97, 14.

§ 89. e) In a single passage *hāligdōm* appears as the translation of Lat. *'ministerium sacrum',* 'holy office', 'holy work':

ne aut non purgatus adire quisque sacra ministeria audeat: „ðȳlǣs ǣnig unclǣnsod dorste on swā micelne hāligdōm fōn ðǣre clǣnan þegnenga ðæs sacerdhādes“. Past. 51, 1.

I shall mention here likewise a few more terms relating to relics.

§ 90. Besides *hāligdōm,* we have the very extensively used learned expression *'reliquias',* more rarely, *reliquie* (i. e. *reliquiae*), as designation of relics:

his (i. e. *sce Bartholomei*) *hālgan reliquias.* Hom. I, 470. Similar ibid. 474.

Gregorius āsénde ēac Augustine . . . ðǣra apostola and martyra reliquias. Hom. II, 132.

ðā sette hē ðā reliquias on heora cyste. Bede 382, 30; etc.

ðyssa reliquia dǣl. Ibid. 382, 18; Similar 382, 21.

þā ȝenāmon hī sumne dǣl his feaxes him tō reliquium. 382, 16.

Etc., etc.

reliquie:

Síngende ǣnne antiphonam tō ðæs hālgan reliquie. Breck C. M. 115.

hyra reliquie, þæt is hyra bān. Ben. R. 101, 3.

Etc., etc.

§ 91. The bones of the Saints were preserved in the churches in a „**shrine**“; this latter was called in O. E. *scrīn* str. n., properly box, or chest in general — O. H. G. *scrîni,* Icel. *skrín* — all from Lat. *scrinium,* a box or chest:[1])

þā wólde sē cāsere wyrcan him eallum gýldene scrȳn (for the Seven Sleepers): *„mandans fieri loculos aureos in quibus reconderentur“.* Hom. II, 426.

For other passages see Bos. Toll.

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[1]) The word was borrowed by our Teutonic forefathers in pre-Christian times as a commercial term. Cf. Seiler p. 29; cf. also Kluge in his „Wörterbuch“. In Christian times the word received a strong religious coloring, just as did the Latin word itself; cf. Du Cange.

Chapter 3.

The Ecclesiastical Offices.

General division.

§ 92. Christianity conceives society as divided into two classes: laymen and the clergy. The latter is to be separated, furthermore, into two originally clearly defined and distinct groups, namely, the clergy proper, and the monastic clergy, which latter were at first not reckoned as clergymen at all (vid. „**Monastie Clergy**“ § 182).

Laymen, the laity, Lat. *laici* (< Gr. *λαϊκός*, 'belonging to the people') are termed in O. E. principally *'lǣwede men', 'ðæt lǣwede folc'* (cf. *'ðæt gāstlīc folc, clericatus'*, below), from *lǣwed, 'laicus'*.

The origin and history of this word is not clear; formally, it coincides exactly with O. E. *lǣwan,* Goth. *lêwjan,* 'betray'; and *'lǣwed man'* would, consequently, mean 'the betrayed'!

According to others (vid. Skeat, 'Etymological Dictionary', art. 'lewd'), *lǣwan* sometimes has the sense of 'weaken' e. g. Ælfric's Exod. XXII, 10 & 14: *'ʒelēwed, debilitatum'*. Starting from this as the fundamental meaning we would then have the following development: 1. weakened, 2. politically weak, i. e. 3. the people. Then, after the introduction of Christianity, 4. weak in culture, lacking culture, uneducated, i. e. 5. the common people, as distinguished from the learned class, the clergy (cf. *'ðā lǣwedan & ðā ʒelǣredan'*. Screadunga 29, 5). For *ʒelēwed, ālēwed* „debilis“ and similar forms see Pogatscher, Anz. f. d. Altertum 1890 p. 12.

More plausible than either of the foregoing hypotheses is, it seems to me, the attempt of Pogatscher (Pog. § 340 et seq.), who derives *lǣwed* from the Latin.

He supposes the following grades of development: Middle Lat. *_laicatus_ (like '_clericatus_', clergyman) > Gallo-Rom. *_lăgād_- >*_lăʒād_ > *_lăʒʷād_ > *_lăwǣd_ (_g_ disappears, as in O. E. _lēowe_ < Gallo-Rom. _leuga_). This latter form was then regarded by the Anglo-Saxons as a participle, after the analogy of _ʒehādod_ (clergyman), and at the same time assigned (formally) to the native _lǣwan_. (?)

See also Kluge-Lutz Et. Dict., where _lǣwed_ „unlearned" is derived from lat. _laïcus_.

In contrast to the O. E., the O. H. G. and O. N. possess corresponding expressions derived clearly from the Lat.: O. H. G. _leigo_, plur. _leigun_, '_laici_', and _laihmann_, '_laicus_'; O. N. _laikmenn_, '_laici_'.

Examples.

Prēostas síndon ʒesette tō lāreowum þām lǣwedum folce. Ælfric, T. 22, 37.

ǣʒðer ʒē ʒehādodum mannum ʒē lǣwedum. Wulf. 234, 7.

Ʒyf hwā nunnan mid hǣmedþinge . . ʒefō, sȳ hit twī-bōte, swā wē ǣr be lǣwedum men fúndon. Ælfred 18 B.

By the side of _lǣwede_ is also found _lǣde_ Bede 400, 2 (cf. Pogatscher Anz. l. c.).

§ 93. In a few instances we find the layman designated as _céorl_ i. e. 'a man of the people'. Cf. Germ. '_Kerl_'.

laicus, céorl. Ælfric's Colloq. Wr. W. 100, 13.

Cf. _vulgus, céorlfolc._ Wr. W. 309, 39.

The laity collectively were sometimes termed (_ðæt_) _céorlisc folc_, „the common people", — _céorlisc_ = _vulgaris, rusticus_ (vid. Bos. Toll.):

wē witon tō-sōðe þæt manega sȳdefulle clēricas nyton hwæt byð quadrans . . . sē féorða[_n_] _dǣl byð_ [_byd_, MS.] _quadrans gecīyed, bēo hyt peniʒ oððe púnd, swā þæt wēl wāt céorlisc folc._ B.'s Hándbōc, Angl. VIII, 306, 26 et sq.

Note. The '_céorl_' in the Anglo-Saxon state denoted properly a member of the third, or lowest, class of freemen, a person without any distinction of rank. Thus, when transferred to the ecclesiastical relation, the '_céorl_' would designate a member of the laity as distinguished from the clergy. For the later history of the word in English vid. the Oxford Dict. art. _churl_; for etymology, Kluge.

The Clergy.

§ 94. In order to designate the Christian priestly class the Romans adopted the Greek word *κλῆρος*, Lat. *clerus,* properly 'lot' or 'share', but used since the 2nd Century in the language of Christianity to denote the ministers of the Church collectively i. e. 'those who have chosen Christ as their especial portion (*clerus*)'.

The adjective derived from *clerus, clericus* (Gr. *κληρικός*), has been in use since the 4th Century.

In O. E. the entire clerus (i. e. both the clergy proper and the monastic clergy) was denoted by the following expressions:

ðæt gāstlīce folc, „populus spiritualis" (Bede 84, 28 &c.), — *gāstlīc* = 'ghostly', spiritual.

ȝodes ðēowas (often in the weak form *ȝodes ðēowan*), 'Servants of God' — a favorite word with Anglo-Saxon writers; and is sometimes applied even to the priests of the Jews:

ðā ȝodes þēowas bǣron ðæt hālige scrīn: „the servants of God bore the Ark." Hom. II, 214, 35.

elþēodiȝe biscopas and ȝodes þēos: „episcopi atque clerici perigrini". Bede 278, 20.

ðæt ǣlces hādes menn ȝéorne ȝebūgan . . . ǣlc tō þām rihte ðe him tō ȝebyrige and hūruþinga ȝodes þēowas: biscopas and abbudas, munecas and mynecena, prēostas and nunnan. Æthelreds Gesetze V, 4.

ōðre bydelas, ȝeðúngene Godes ðēowan. Hom. II, 126, 28.

ealle ðā Godes þēowan. Æthelst. V, 3. Similar, Wulf. 197, 16 (F); 198, 11 (F).

ealra Godes ðēowena. Wulf. 199, 12.

Etc., Etc.

bescorene (*men*), 'Shorn', 'tonsured', Lat. *'Tonsi',* i. e. monks and all Romish priests — so called from the ecclesiastical tonsure (O. E. *scearu*) which every member of the clergy had to receive:

monige of Óngelcynne, æðele ȝe unæðele, lǣdde (= *lǣwede*), *bescorene, wǣpned and wīf: „nobiles, ignobiles, laici, clerici"*. Bede 406, 17. Cf. Wiht. 7: *bescoren man,* 'a clergyman'.

§ 95. To become a clergyman by receiving the tonsure was called *sceare onfōn,* 'to receive the tonsure' — from *scearu,* str. f. 'tonsure', lit. 'shearing'. Thus Bede 208, 16:

[*cyning Sigeberht*] *in mynster ēode . . . and sceare onfēng: „accepta tonsura“.* Etc.

The same idea was further expressed by the phrase *tō prēoste besceran,* 'to make a priest by tonsure' (E. G. Bede 454, 30 etc.); or simply (*ȝe*)*scoren bēon,* 'to be shorn' or 'tonsured':

ðā wǣron scorene ealle munecas and sācerdas on ðone bēh Scē. Petres sceare. Bede 470, 22.

We will now proceed to discuss the two divisions of the clergy separately:

§ 96. 1. **The Clergy Proper.**

The terminology for priests in the broadest sense of the word, i. e. all members of the seven or eight orders of the Romish priesthood, will be treated first. The following words will be considered:

§ 97. 1. *prēost* str. m. 'priest', a borrowed word derived originally from the Lat. *presbyter.*

The origin and history of *prēost* is very interesting, for it is clear that it is philologically impossible to derive *prēost* from *presbyter* directly by the application of the ordinary laws of sound-change.

I shall give the reader in the following a brief résumé of the various explanations that have been heretofore attempted:

§ 98. Pogatscher („Zur Lautlehre“ etc., § 142), beginning with 'presbyter', proposes to adopt as the prototype of O. E. *prēost* a Romance form **praebester,* corrupted from *presbyter* by popular connection with *praebere.* This would give the series: **praebester,* **prẹv'st*(*r*)*e,* **preust*(*r*)*e,* O. E. *prēost.*

§ 99. Holthausen (A. f. d. A. 15, 290 et seq.) proposes, instead of criticising Pogatscher's suppositions — „die ihm nicht einleuchten“ — another explanation: „*Presbyter* ergab durch Syncope **presb'ter,* woraus **presp'ter,* **prester* hervorgehen

mussten; letztere Form wurde dann nach dem Vorbild von *magister* und *minister* volksetymologisch durch Anlehnung an *prius* zu **priuster* umgebildet, dem ae. **prēoster* entsprach. In den casus obliqui sg. **prēostres, prēostre,* sowie im ganzen Plural wurde nun durch Dissimilierung das zweite *r* ausgestossen: *prēostes* usw., dann dazu ein neuer nom. acc. voc. sg. *prēost* geschaffen". (In support of this hypothesis, H. here cites an example of this phenomenon from O. E.)

§ 100. Against this explanation H. Varnhagen (Engl. Stud. XVI, 155) objects, on the ground that it is hard to see how, despite the evidence of *magister* and *minister,* the people came to connect **prester* with the Lat. *prius.* (Varnhagen seems nevertheless to have tacitly made use of Holthausen's method of explanation). — V. likewise rejects Pogatscher's hypothesis the defects of which „auf der Hand liegen: einmal ist das *praebester* besonders auf die ae. Form zugeschnitten und keine übrigen germ. oder roman. Formen deuten auf ein solches etymon; zweitens aber würde eine volksetymologische Umbildung von *presbyter* an *praebere* wohl kaum eine Form *praebester,* also zugleich mit Umstellung des *s,* sondern eher, besonders wenn man das vorhandene *praebitor* berücksichtigt, ein *praebiter* geschaffen haben, wie dies im Italienischen (*prete* für **prévete* aus *praebiter*) der Fall ist".

V.'s own exposition now follows. It is his opinion „dass das lat. *prior,* Abt, wegen des *-or,* das im ae. die Endung des adverbiellen Komparativs ist, vom Volke noch als Komparativ gefühlt, und dass die ursprüngliche Form *prēst* wegen des *-st,* das der Ausgang der Superlativendung ist, mit jenem Wort als zugehöriger Superlativ in Verbindung gebracht wurde, und daher das *-io-* von *prior* annahm: *pri-or* — *pri-ost,* letztere Form dann zusammengezogen in *prīost, prēost*".

§ 101. In conclusion we have O. E. Lindström, who (Engl. Stud. XX, 147) in union with Varnhagen rejects the views of both Pogatscher and Holthausen, adding, however, some new points not considered by Varnhagen.

But neither is the latter's explanation satisfactory to Lindström; first, because he thinks that the scheme of comparison

(i. e. the ending *-or*) of adverbs could scarcely furnish a formal parallel for substantives. Secondly, that it is doubtful whether, at the time when *presbyter* was transformed into *prest, prior* was still felt to be a comparative.

L. derives *prēost* from an O. F. **preost*. This **preost*, he supposes, is the superlative of a suppostitious form **preoz*, the regular development of the Latin *praepositus* or *propositus*; the French *prevost* < *praepositus* not being a popular form.

So much for Lindström. This explanation Pogatscher now (Engl. Stud. Vol. XXVII, p. 270) declares himself inclined to accept.

§ 102. My own view of the origin of this much discussed vocable is briefly expressed.

I agree with Varnhagen and Lindström in rejecting the explanations of Pogatscher and Holthausen; Lindström's criticism of Varnhagen's very pretty though, as it seems to me, incorrect hypothesis I find trivial and unconvincing. The only satisfactory objection to the *prior*-hypothesis Lindström fails to hit upon altogether, viz. that there could never have been any popular connection of *prêst* with *prior* for the very simple reason that *prior* is not found in O. E. at all!

Formally, no objection can be raised to the assumption of Rom. **preost* as the prototype of O. E. *prēost* (cf. Sp. *prioste* < Rom. *prevosto* < *praepositus*; Diez, „Etym. Wörterb. d. Rom. Sprachen", 5. Aufl., 1887). It should be noted, however, that the Lindström theory would prove unsatisfactory, even from this point of view, if we accept as genuine the secondary form *prēst* found in Ælfric's Vocabulary (Wr. W. 100, 13).

But, apart from this, very powerful considerations of sense render such a derivation highly improbable. These considerations Lindström and Pogatscher, in their eagerness to supply a satisfactory formal prototype, would seem to have entirely overlooked.

Rom. **preost*, **prioste* signified a provost, or syndic — a meaning which the supposed O. E. derivative must also originally have had. But such is not the case: O. E. *prēost*,

even in the earliest monuments in which it occurs, denotes only masspriest (Lat. *presbyter*), or priest in general; and there is absolutely nothing to indicate that it at any time possessed any meaning save that of priest.

§ 103. To explain O. E. *prēost* we must, it seems to me, return to the Gallo-Rom. **prêstre* (O. F. *prestre*) as the fundamental form.

By the process of „dissimilation" **prêstre* became in the oblique cases *prēstes, prēste,* etc., to which a new nom. *prēst* was then formed (Holthausen); cf. here the O. H. G. secondary form *priast* (Braune, A. H. D. Gram. § 36).

Now the *ê* of **prêstre* is expressed in the continental Germanic languages by the vowel known as continental $\bar{e}^2$, represented in O. H. G. by *ê* or the diphthongs *ia, ea, ie* (cf. *prêstar, priestar, priastar*; *ziagal, zeagal* etc.), and in O. E. usually by *ē,* but sometimes by a diphthong — *ēa* being the only one heretofore known (cf. *Crēcas* and *Crēacas,* 'Greeks').

Considerable uncertainty therefore exists as to the precise representives of $\bar{e}^2$ in O. E.; and there is, consequently, no reason why the *ēo, īo* (rarely *ēa, ē* cf. Pogatscher § 142) of *prēost, prīost* should not likewise be recognised as its lawful representatives.[1]

§ 104. The meaning of *prēost,* as has already been suggested, is quite general and in contrast with that of its prototype *presbyter.*

Thus we find it a) for Lat. „*sacerdos*" (bishop or masspriest: *ealle ðā prēostas . . būton Origenis, „sacerdotes"*. Oros. 272,8.

teneant palmas in manibus usque dum offertorium canetur, et eas post oblationem offerant sacerdoti, „. . . . þām prēoste". De C. M. 409, 10; with this compare ibid. 404, 2: *teneant*

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[1]) That a diphthong with an *i*-sound as its first element might represent the open *e* [ę] of Westgerm. $\bar{e}^2$ seems assured by the O. H. G. representatives of e^2; cf. *ia, ie* by the side of *ê, ea.*

The explanation of *prēost — prēst* given above, while perhaps not final, appears to me more probable than any of the preceding. For its suggestion I am indebted to Prof. Morsbach.

luminaria in manibus donec post oblationem ea sacerdoti offerant, „þām mæssepreoste“.

Note. In a single passage *prēost* refers to the priest of a Jewish *„sacerdos“: sē* (sc. *sācerd*) *cōm of Hierusalem mid eallum his prēostum .. ðæt hē Iudith gesāwe.* Ass. (Æ) IX, 386.

§ 105. b) for Lat. *„clericus“* (any member of the seven Orders), and Lat. *„presbyter“* in the broader sense:

„clericus, prēost“. Ælfric, Wr. W. 155, 30.

þās hādas sýndon, hālige and tō heofenum gebríngað ðǣra prēosta sāwla ðe hȳ sȳferlīce héaldað. Ælfric's Canons. Thorpe: Anc. Laws Instit. p. 444, XVIII.

Ȝemǣnes hādes prēostum is ālȳfed . . . ðæt hī sȳferlīce sinscipes brūcon. Witodlīce ðām ōðrum þe æt Godes weofode þēniað, þæt is mæsseprēostum and dīaconum, is ealunge forboden ǣlc hǣmed. Hom. II, 94, 25.

Sixtum episcopum cum clero suo, „ðone biscop mid his prēostum“. Hom. I, 416, 3. Similar: Ibid. 416, 4, 18.

Ea in domo sua multos habebat Christianos, & Presbyteros & clericos, absconsos, „sēo hæfde behȳd on hire hāme prēostas and manega lǣwede Crīstenan. Hom. I, 418, 20. — etc.

§ 106. c) more rarely, for *„presbyter“* = masspriest:

Biscopes feoh XI gýlde. Prēostes feoh IX gýlde. Dīacones feoh VI gýlde. Clēroces feoh III gýlde. Laws of Æthelbirht, 1.

we wyllað cȳðan iúngum prēostum mā þinga þæt hīȝ magon þeranclīcor . . . heora clēricum geswutelian. B.'s Hándbōc. Angl. VIII, 312; 17 et seq.; and similar: Can. Edg. 4.

§ 107. d) for the canon, *„canonicus“,* also called *„clericus“* in ecclesiastial Latin; vid. the lexicon of Du Cange, Arts. *'canonicus', 'clerici'*:

more canonicorum, „æfter ðēawe prēosta“. De C. M. 423, 7.

canst þū ðone prēost þe is gehāten eadzige? „Numquid illum agnoscis *canonicum?“* Lives 21, 26.

Hēr ādrǣfde Eadgar cýng ðā prēostas (*þā canonicas* — F.) *of Éaldran Mynstre.* Chron. A, anno 964. Cf. *Hic expulsi sunt canonici.* Chr. E.

Cf. *prēostlīc* = *canonicus* : *canonico more*, *„prēostlīcum gewunan"*. De C. M. 412, 2; very similar ibid. 412, 14.

§ 108. 2. *clēric* (*clēroc, clērec*; in one passage, Wihtr. 19, *clīroc*. On *clīroc* as the proper phonetic form of the word vid. Pogatscher §§ 44 and 129. The form *clerc* is quite rare), from Lat. *clericus,* a priest.

a) A member of the clergy including the bishop:

ðǣr wæs Mauricius gecoren tō biscope on Lúndune and Willelm tō Norðfolce and Rodbeard tō ceasterscīre . hī wǣron ealle þæs cýnges clērecas. Peterborough Chron. Anno 1085 (Early M. E.).

clericus, prēost oððe clēric. Ælfric, Wr. W. 308, 2. Similar: B.'s Hándbōc, Angl. VIII, 300, 7, 14 etc. (*prēost* and *clēric* used alternately and without discrimination).

sē arcebiscop (*sē arb',* Ms.) *ongan tō tellende þone pāpan eal embe þā clēricas, „de clericis"*. Chron. F. Anno 995; and in the same sense ibid. (beginning): [*hē*] *wæs of clērican*; and ibid. (end): *hē ðā clēricas ūt of ðām mynstre ādrāf.*

b) A masspriest's deacon:

Wē lǣrað þæt prēosta gehwilc tō sinoðe hæbbe his clēric. Edg.'s Canons, 4. Very similar, B.'s Hándbōc, Anglia VIII, 312, 17 et seq.

c) One of the lower clergy is apparently intended in the passage Æthelbirht's Laws 1:

Biscopes feoh XI gýlde. Prēostes feoh IX gýlde. dīacones feoh VI gýlde. Clēroces feoh III gýlde.

Note. The form *„clerc"* arose as the result of the analogy of the oblique cases, where the *i* is syncopated after the liquid *r* in Late O. E.[1]) It occurs but rarely and only in Late O. E. Examples:

Wulfrīc mæssepreōst. Ælfrīc clerc. Byrhstān clerc. . . . Ēadgār mæssepreōst. Wulfūn clerc. Cod. Dipl. No. 542 (Anno 969).

ich habe gezefen Ʒiso biscope . . . inne tō his clerken. Cod. Dipl. No. 837 (about Anno 1066; but the language is Transition O. E.).

O clerice, „ēalā ðū clēric" (*þū clerc.* B). Zup. Abbo, 1.

O cleronoma, „ēalā þū clēric" (*clerc.* B.). Ibid. 99.

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[1]) [Cp. Bülbring, Altengl. Elementarbuch § 434 sq. The late O. E. *clerc* is most probably due to French influence; cf. Kluge in Engl. Stud. XXI p. 335. Morsbach.]

§ 109. 3. *sācerd* str. m., a learned term taken from the Lat. *sacerdos.*

Note 1. Pogatscher (Engl. Stud. XXVII, 224 et seq.) has shown clearly that Kluge (Grdr. I, 783 = Grdr.[2] I, 929) and Sweet ('Student's Dict.' p. 143) are wrong in deriving *sācerd* from O. Ir. *săcart.* He points out that it is metrically necessary that the first syllable of *sācerd* should be long (i. e. either *sā-*, or *sac-* pronounced *sats-*) and shows that the derivation from Irish *săcart* is, consequently, impossible. Cf. also Pog. § 186.

Note 2. In addition to the regular plural *sācerdas*, etc., a semi-learned form *sacerdotas, -a, -um*, seems also to have been used in O. E. At any rate, Bede employs in one passage the dat. plur. '*sacerdotum*', a form which apparently indicates the above forms: *áan of ðǣm fēower foresprecenan sacerdotum, „unus ex praefatis quatuor sacerdotibus"*. 222, 28. MSS. O and Ca. have here *„sācerdum"*. MS. B has *„ðāra foresprecena mæssepr̄eosta"*.

Sācerd, like its Lat. prototype is used to signify a) Christian bishop and mass-priest; b) Jewish priest, high priest; c) heathen priest.

Examples.

§ 110. a) *wǣron hēo fēower gebrōðor . . . ealle Godes sācerdas. Twēgen wǣron biscopas, twēgen wǣron mæssepr̄eostas.* Bede 232, 27.

ʒehwǣr sācerdas and mæssepr̄eostas betwih wībedum wǣron slægene, „passim sacerdotes inter altaria trucidabantur". Bede 52, 30.

sē féorða [sinoð] wæs on Calcedonia. d. c. bisceopa and XXX sācerda. Wulfst. 270, 14.

&c. &c.

b) *Forðām bebīet sīo hālige ǣ ðæt sē sācerd scyle onfōn ðone swīðran bōʒh æt ðǣre offrunge.* Past. 81, 18. Similar: Ælfric's Hom. I, 406, 21.

gáng, ætēowde þē ðām sācerde, „ostende te sacerdoti" (North. and Rush. have here *„þǣm measseprēost"* — a naïve conception of the Jewish hierarchy!). Mt. 8, 4.

&c. &c.

Caiphas . . . sē wæs sācerd on ðām ʒēare, „Caiphas cum esset pontifex anni illius". Ass. (Æ) V, 10 (quoted from Jo. XI, 49); and in the same sense: Ibid. V, 16, 102, 138, 140, 150, 152. Nicod. 478, 7.

c) *ðā sācerdas,* i. e. the priests in the temple of Apollo. Lives XIV, 145. Similar, Hom. I, 416.

Aseneth . . . dohtor þæs sācerdes of þǣre byrig þē ys ʒenemned Eliopoleas, „filiam sacerdotis Heliopoleos“. Ælfric's Gen. 41, 45.

&c.

§ 111. 4. *Gehādod man,* „ordained man“, — Lat. *ordinatus* — one who has received one of the Seven Ecclesiastical Orders; O. E. *ʒehādian* (*hādian*), „consecrate“, from *hād,* „consecration“ — vid. Note 1, 2, below, § 123:

Nū ʒē habbað ʒehīred be ʒehādodum mannum ʒē on ðāre éaldan laʒe, ʒē on ðāre nīwan ʒecȳðnesse. Ælfric's Past. 41. Thorpe.

&c. &c.

Sometimes *ʒehādod man* was employed to designate the entire clergy, including monastics:

Ʒif hwylc ʒehādod man, bisceop oððe mæssepreōst oððe munuc oððe dīacon. Poen. Ecgb. IV, 8.

§ 112. 5. *cyrc-þíngere,* 'priest'; properly „a spiritual intercessor“, from *þíngere, ʒe-þíngere, „intercessor advocatus“* (cf. the German verb *„dingen“*). Is is found but once:

Sacerdos, sācerd vel cyrc þíngere. Wr. W. 155, 29. Cf. also ibid. 155, 30: *clericus, preōst vel þíngere.*

The Lat. expression *„advocatus ecclesiae“* probably differs too greatly in meaning (Church Advocate) from O. E. *cyrc-þíngere* to be considered as its prototype (?).

§ 113. 6. *ǣwe-wéard,* prop. „Guardian of the Law“, then „priest“, occurs only in Bl. 161, 27:

on Herodes dagum . . . wæs swīðe mycel ǣweweárd, þæs noma wæs Zacharias, „. . sacerdos quidam“ — quoted from Lk. 1, 5.

It is quite possible that this word was compounded by the author of the homily merely as a poetical circumlocution of 'Jewish priest', designed to emphasize his office as the 'guardian of the (biblical) Law'. But, on the other hand, it is also quite possible that we have before us in *ǣwe-wéard* the old, heathen-Germanic conception of the priestly office,

according to which the priest was likewise the judge, the interpreter of the law. Thus, too, in O. H. G. the priest is called *êwart, êwarto,* corresponding precisely to our word; from *ê,* law, and *wart, warto,* the „ward", guardian, watcher. Very similar to this is the old expression O. H. G. *„coting",* glossed as *„tribunus",* but originally *„priest"* — from *cot, got,* „god", and the patronymic suffix *-ing* (cf. sub „Samaritans", § 8); thus *coting* denoted in heathen times a man of priestly dignity, who at the same time presided over a court of law (*tribunus*). Cf. Grimm, Myth., 4th Ed. p. 72 et seq.[1])

§ 114. 7. **goda* w. m. In the sense of priest this word does not occur in O. E.; but I have nevertheless thought best to cite it here because it was the ancient heathen-Germanic designation for a priest.

Goda exactly corresponds to the Goth. *gudja* and O. N. *goði,* and is a derivative of O. E. *god,* „god".

In all probability the O. E. term was, soon after the migration of the Anglo-Saxons to Britain, supplanted by the Christian word *prēost,* and was in consequence doomed thereafter to exist only as the proper name *„Goda".* Cf. Grimm, Myth., 4. Aufl., p. 72, and Vol. III, 'Nachtrag', p. 37.

§ 115. Other expressions of a more general character relating to the clergy:

The Christian-biblical conception of the priest as a shepherd O. E. *hírde, „pastor",* is extremely popular in O. E.; a few typical examples will suffice:

þȳ lǣs . . . sē steall swā nēowre cirican ǣnige hwīle būton héorde taltrigan ongunne, „pastore destitutus". Bede 106, 19.

Ulf prēost wæs ʒeset þām biscoprīce to hýrde. Chron. (D), Anno 1050.

Latin *„minister altaris"* is rendered in O. E. by *wēofod-þegn,* from *wēofod,* altar. The expression is widely used and denotes, as does the corresponding Latin, properly only the *„ordines majores"* i. e. the bishop, the masspriest, and the deacon. Thus „Institutes of Polity", Thorpe, p. 437:

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[1]) [cf. also Mogk in Grundr. d. germ. Phil.² III p. 399.]

wēofod-þēn, ðæt is biscop oððe mæssepreōst oððe dīacon. Furthermore in Æthelr. VIII, 18. 22, 28.

&c. &c.

The word is glossed as *„þegn wēofodes"* with the Lat. wordposition. Thus e. g.: *cum ministris altaris, „mid þēnum wēofudes"* (*„weorudes"*, MS.). De C. M. 413, 4. Similar: ibid. 405, 15.

abbas cum ministris altaris, sē abbod and þā ðēnas þæs hālgan wēofodes. Reg. Con. Zup. 208.

ciric-þegn (*-þēn*), *„minister* of the church", priest, Lat. *minister ecclesiae,* occurs but rarely:

ne ciricþēn ne ūtige, būtan biscopes geþehte. Æthelr. V, 10. VI, 15.

ac nū sýndon þēah cyrcan wīde & sīde wāce gegriðode & yfele geðēowode . . . & cyric-þēnas sýndon mǣðe & múnde gewelhwǣr bedǣlde. Inst. Pol. 25.

In the following passage the parts are separately construed:

Sē bisceop þā þǣr gesette gōde sángeras & mæssepreōstas & manigféaldlīce ciricean þegnas, „ministrorum, cantorum, sacerdotumque". Bl. 207.

Rather frequently, on the other hand, is to be found the compound *godes mann,* minister of the Gospel, „man of God" (*vir Dei?*):

sē foresprecena ʒodes man, „praefatus clericus". Bede 34, 22.

clericum quendam, „sumne ʒodes mann preōsthādes". Bede 34, 14.

&c.

In conclusion we have to note the semi-poetic epithet, occurring but rarely, — *ʒodes forboda,* „messenger of God" (*praenuntius Dei?*):

And ʒodes forboda wē forbēodað þæt ǣnig preōst etc. North. Priestergesetz 2.

§ 116. **The priesthood**, embracing the two groups of *„Ordines majores"* (bishop, priest, deacon, subdeacon) and *„Ordines minores"* (*acoluthus, exorcista, lector, ostiarius*), was denoted in O. E. as follows:

§ 117. 1. by the compound *sācerd-hād* str. m., i. e. state (*hād*) of being a *sācerd* (q. v.).

Note. The form „*sācerhād*" (occurring only in Bede 162, 20) seems undoubtedly due to a scribal error. All the MSS excepting T have „*sācerdhād*"; cf. Miller's Bede Pt. II, p. 165.

Sācerd-hād, accordingly, designates the rank of a bishop or a masspriest, and furthermore the Jewish and heathen hierarchies; Lat. *sacerdotium, gradus episcopalis*:

Flaminea i. episcopali gradus, bisceophādas vel sācerd. (= *sācerdhādas*). Wr. W. 239, 22.

flaminea, sācerdhādas (i. e. heathen priesthoods). Bout. Ald. Giles, 25.[1])

hē gesette on sācerdhād in Ierusalem Iudas þām folce tō bisceope. El. 1055.

ðā ðe sācerdhādes wǣron, „sacerdotali gradu". Bede 158, 25.

bisceopum gebyreð ðæt symle mid heom faran and mid heom wunian wēl geþúngene witan hūru sācerdhādes. Inst. Pol. p. 428.

ðā Zacharias his sācerd-hādes brēac [thus in Mss. A. B. C.], *„cum sacerdotio fungeretur".* Lk. 1, 8.

&c. &c.

§ 118. 2. *clēric-hād,* Lat. „*clericatus*", denoting the entire clergy proper, as *clēric,* every member of the same (rare):

þā ðe clērichādes sýnd and munuchādes wilniað. Ben. R. 107, 13, etc.

cleratis, clērochāde. Wr. W. 372, 10. 503, 27.

§ 119. 3. *prēost-hād* (cf. *prēost* § 97 etc.), Lat. „*clerus*", „*sacerdotium*" — the „priesthood". It is not very frequent in O. E., although destined in later periods to supplant all the other words of this list:

clericum quendam, „sumne godes mann prēosthādes". Bede 34, 14.

gē sint ācoren kynn gode and kynelīces prēosthādes, „regale *sacerdotium*". Past. 85, 19.

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[1]) [Cp. Napier, Old English Glosses: 1901 flaminia, *sācerdhādes* (R. *-hadas,* as in II; 5056 flamin(i)um, .i. sacerdotium, *biscophād, sācerdhād*; 2, 56 flamina .i. *sācerdhādas* (G. flaminia); 7, 102 flaminia, *bisceopdōm.*]

Especially of the clergy of the bishop:

sē wynferð wes of prēosthāde þes biscopes, „erat de clero ejus“. Chad, 242.

The rank of priest:

Iulianus nólde gehéaldan his prēost-hād on riht. Lives 3, 290.

§ 120. 4. *prēost-hēap* str. m., from *hēap,* collection of objects, a *„heap“* (cf. Ger. *Haufe*). The epithet is taken from the glosses of the 11th Century (Wr. W.); and is not met with elsewhere in O. E.:

In clero, on prēosthēape. Wr. W. 421, 29.

It should also be noted that *hēap* is likewise used in other connections to denote „a society of persons“; cf. for example:

his ðone gecorenan hēap, „electos suos“ (i. e. God's Elect). Ps. 104, 38.

Biscopan and gehālgodan hēapan, „to bishops and consecrated societies“. Æthelr. 7, 24 etc.

§ 121. 5. Very popular among the Anglo-Saxons was the conception of the clergy as members of a family, especially as the bishop's family: *ðā hīwan* (*hīgan*), *„clerus“; ðæs biscopes hīwrǣd,* — from *hīwan* nom. plur. *„familia“,* and *hīwrǣd* str. m. (*hīred*), *„familia“* (on the form *hīred* vid. Sievers, Gram.[2, 3] § 43, Anm. 4).[1])

Cēolulf rex wilnade ðæs lóndes æt Brēmesgrēfan tō Hēaberht bisceope and tō his hīgum. Cart. Sax. No. 308.

ðēm hiium tō Crīstes circan. Ibid. No. 405.

&c. &c.

omnis clerus ac populus, „eall hīred and ðæt folc“. De C. M. 421, 6. Very similar: 428, 3. 419, 2.

Cleri, biscophīrede. Wr. W. 499, 34. 371, 35 [put for *biscophīredes*].

§ 122. 6. *prēost-hīred,* properly „family of priests“ (vid. *hīred,* above), then „clergy“, is found only in the Aldhelm Glosses:

infamiam cleri, „. . . prēosthīredes“. Bout. Ald. Giles p. 41.[2])

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[1]) [Bülbring, Elementarbuch § 379 a.]

[2]) [Napier O. E. Glosses 3006. cleri, .i. familię, .i. populi, prēosthīredes.]

§ 123. 7. Finally, we note an expression which occurs in Bede several times viz. *gefēr-scipe* str. m., *„societas“*, *„comitatus“*, then *„clerus“* conceived as the following of a bishop:

of gefērscipe ðæs biscopes Deosdedit, „de clero Deusdedit Episcope“. Bede 248, 10. Similar: ibid. 272, 16; etc.

Note 1. *„hād“*:

To distinguish the various ranks and classes of society the Anglo-Saxon employed the word *hād*, which corresponds, etymologically and otherwise, to O. H. G. *heit*, Goth. *haidus*, „manner“ or „fashion“ in which one object is related to others.

Thus the fundamental meaning of *hād* was 'condition', 'rank', then 'person' 'sex', — as may be seen by the following typical examples:

sinoð . . ægðer ge godcúndra hāda ge woruldcúndra, 'A synod composed of both religious and secular classes' Edm. I, Prol.

be eallum hādum gē céorle gē éorle, 'Concerning all ranks, both churl and noble'. Ælfred 4, § 2.

Similar: *ælces hādes menn.* Æthelr. V, 4. VI, 2. Cnut I, 6 Prol., etc.

swā werhādes swā wīfhādes, 'Both men and women'. Edm. I, 1.

sē ðe āna is god þæt hē is wunigende swā swā þā wītegan secgað æfre on þrīm hādum, būtan anginne and énde: „God in three Persons“. Ælfr. Interr. 512.

But with the introduction of Christianity *hād* acquired an extension in meaning: it was employed from now on to translate the Lat. *ordo*, *ordinatio*, not only in a general way, but in the special senses of „Holy Order“, „priestly ordination“. In this connection note the following expressions:

ðā hālgan hādas, sancti ordines: „the clergy“. Edm. I, 1.

hālig hād, clerus. Gū. 65; cf. Lat. *sanctus ordo*, „clergy“.

tō hāde fōn, „ordinem suscipere“. Ecg. Poen. 4, 8; etc. etc.

hād begitan: take orders, be ordained. North. Priestergesetz 12.

hādung, act of ordaining, ordination, Lat. *ordinatio* (cf. *hālgung,* § 82):

Bē ðæs abbodes hādunge, „de ordinando abbate“. Ben. R. 8, 20; etc.

The verb *(ge-)hādian,* „ordain“ (cf. *gehālgian,* § 83):

áldorlīcnisse . . . . ðæt hē biscopas hādian mōste, „ordinandi episcopos auctoritas“. Bede 118, 27.

Wilfrid bisceop ðā hī gehādode tō mynecene. Lives XX, 35.

hī bodedon and biscopas gehādedon. Ælfric Test. 15, 37.

&c. &c.

Note 2. It might perhaps be thought that O. E. *hād* and its derivatives *hādian, hādung,* possessed even in pre-Christian times a sacerdotal character; in short, that they belonged to a heathen religious terminology. But the lack of evidence pointing to the existence of an elaborate pagan hierarchy among the Anglo-Saxons renders such an hypothesis entirely improbable. At best it can be considered only as a possibility.

§ 124. **The Clergy Proper in detail.** According to Ælfric („Canons". Thorpe p. 443), the A.-S. Church recognized not eight, but only seven Orders of the clergy, considering, as he says, that „bishops and masspriests belong to the same ecclesiastical order — the seventh" (*únderstándað ðæt bēggen sínd on ānum hāde, sē biscop and sē mæssepreōst, ðæt is on ðām seofoðan ciric-hāde.* Æ.'s Pastoral. Thorpe, p. 459).

To the seventh order were reckoned, further, the pope, who, it should be remembered, was long regarded by Anglo-Saxons generally only as a highly revered bishop (cf. Diss. James, p. 30 et seq., 38 et seq., 42); and of course the archbishops, metropolitans, and patriarchs.

1. The Pope.

§ 125. Lat. *pāpa,* signifying properly 'spiritual father', i. e. 'pope', was borrowed by O. E. unchanged from the Latin in the form of the weak masc. *pāpa, -an*; O. N. *pápe*, *páfe*; O. H. G. *bâbes, bâbist.*

The Latin title *„papa"* was, as the reader is doubtless informed, at first applied to all bishops indiscriminately. And it was not until after the 5th Cent. that the Roman pontiff alone began to be addressed as *'papa'.* Consequently, O. E. *pāpa,* borrowed from the Lat. not until after the aforesaid period, designates only the pope.

On the other hand, the native ecclesiastical title *fæder, „pater",* was applied not only to the pope but to the remaining clergy as well, particularly to the abbot (vid. sub „Abbot", § 194). E. g.:

Ðū, ūre fæder (= *sē biscop*). Hom. I, 416, 9, and *Ðū, mīn fæder!* ibid. Similar: Ibid. 418, 3. 420, 15. Bl. 225, 16.

In O. E. we frequently find the pope referred to as *hālig,* „holy"; *ēadig, gesǣlig,* „blessed", — as in the case of the saints, apostles, martyrs, etc. E. g.:

ðæs ēadigan pāpan Sc̄e Gregories, „beati papae Gregorii". Bede 2, 23.

Gregorius, sē hālga pāpa. Hom. II, 116.

þæs ēadigan fæder Gregorius, „beati patris". Bede 56, 22.

§ 126. The title *„domne“*, Lat. *dominus* (on the Gallo-Rom. origin of this word and the time of its adoption — circa 700 — vid. Pogatscher § 173), occurs but seldom in O. E.:

ðā was domne Leo pāp(a) on Rōme. Chron. (A), Anno 853.

Said of others than the pope:

domne Helias patriarcha on Ȝerusalem. Leechd. II, 290.

mīn domne biscop. Bede 196, 17.

§ 127. As representative of Christ, the pope does not, to my knowledge, occur in O. E. literature. This lofty prerogative was claimed and held for centuries by the A.-S. kings who, as *„hlāfordas and múndboran“*, Lords and protectors, of the people in matters secular were also regarded as the earthly representatives of the Supreme Protector, Christ, against the Evil One, i. e. as *„Crīstes ȝespelian“*, *„Christi vicarii“*.

For further information in this regard, cf. Schmid's glossary to his „Gesetze d. A.-S.“ sub *„cyning“*; also Liebermann, p. 63.

Thus we read in the laws of King Æthelred VIII, 2: *„. . . hē his āgenne wer Crīste and þām cyninge ȝesylle . . . forðām crīsten cyning is Crīstes ȝespelia ȝetéald on crīstenre þēode.* Cf. also ibid. VIII, 42.

Instead of *ȝespelia,* the form *speliend* — properly pres. part. of the verb *(ȝe-) spelian,* to represent — occurs in one place:

„Sē cyning is Crīstes sylfes speliȝend.“ Bede, Cited in Bos. Toll. from Wheelock's Ed. (1643) p. 151, 39 (not in Miller!)

§ 128. The pope appears at times in O. E. simply as „bishop“, the Papal See being referred to as „Episcopal See of Rome“:

ðurh sanctum Gregorium ðæs rōmāniscan setles bisceop. Leechd. III, 432, 21. And:

Mid ȝewisse sē foresǣda bisceop. Ibid. (i. e. Pope Gregory).

ðone rōmāniscan biscop-stōl. Hom. II, 126.

But generally the Papal See is known as:

ðæt pāp-setl. Shrine 49, 17.

ðæt pāpséld. Blick. 205, 20.

ðæs pāpan setl. Hom. II, 132, 18.

ðæt apostolīce setl: the Apostolic See. Hom. II, 132, 10. Cf. Bede 252, 18: *ðæt apostolīce seðl, „sedes apostolica“.*

For *séld, setl,* and *seðl,* Lat. „*sedes*", vid. Sievers, Gr. 2nd Ed. § 196, 2. Ibid. 3rd Ed.[1])

The papal dignity, the papacy, is, as we expect from the analogy of such compounds as *prēosthād* and the like, *sē pāp-hād*:

Ʒregorius, siððan hē pāpan-hād únderfēng. Hom. II, 126, 24.

Perhaps also *sē pāp-dōm*, as in the passage Chron. Anno 591; this form is, however, by no means securely ascertained for classic A.-S., as my only passage is taken from a MS. compiled at a much later period, probably, than the classic.

2. The Legate.

§ 129. A word that signifies exclusively the papal legate („*legatus*") will be found nowhere in O. E. literature, although the Lat. expression „*apostolicus legatus*" occurs already at an early date (cf. example below). This coincides likewise with the remark of Gregory VII cited by Du Cange as the earliest instance of the use of the expression:

„*Romana ecclesia hanc consuetudinem habuit ab ipsis suae fundationis primordiis, ut ad omnes partes quae Christianae religionis titulo praenotantur suos Legatos mitteret*" etc.

It is not until we reach the Early M. E. monuments that we find in use the term *legat* = „*legatus apostolicus*". Thus in the Peterborough Chron. Anno 697: *ic Adrianus legat hit getē*, „*ego, Adrianus, Apostolicus legatus, haec approbo*" (The same in Col. Dipl. V, 30, 25).

This use of *legat* in earliest M. E. might, perhaps, indicate the presence of the word in English several decades earlier — possibly as early as the end of the 11th Cent. and still in O. E.

§ 130. But apart from the possibility of an O. E. *legat,* there is to be found with some degree of certainty only the native vocable *ǣrend-raca,* „messenger" in general, for the „*legatus*" of the pope (for *ǣrendraca* vid. § 45):

on ðis tīman wǣron ǣrendracan ʒesénd fram Adriane pāpan tō Éngla lánde, tō ʒenīweanne þone ʒelēafan . . . and

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[1]) [Bülbring, Elementarbuch § 522.]

hī man mid wurðscipe únderfēng. Chron. (F) Anno 785. Cf. Bede 150, 16, where the same word is employed to designate the legate of an archbishop:

Romanus þǣre ceastre biscop wæs from Iusto þǣm ærcebiscope tō ǣrendwrecan onsénded tō Honorie þām pāpan, „. . . legatarius missus".

Possibly we may regard the word *ȝespelia* (treated above, § 127), „representative", also as an O. E. equivalent of the Lat. *„legatus apostolicus"*; in fact in one passage it relates directly to the papal legate in England (Augustinus): cf. Leechd. III, 434, 10:

hē [sc. *sē pāpa Gregorius*] *ȝéorne þone his ȝespelian* [sc. *sanctum Agustinum*] *þurh ǣrendracan manode.*

3. The Cardinal.

§ 131. The word *cardinal* is not met in English before the Early M. E. period, although we have in ecclesiastical Latin the *„Cardinales"* of the Roman Church at a very early date in the Middle Ages; vid. Du Cange. The earliest example of the use of the word in English is found in the Peterborough Chron. for the year 1125:

on þes ilces ȝǣres sénde sē pāpa of Rōme tō þise lánde ān Cardinal, Iohan of Creme wæs ȝehāten.

4. The Archbishop.

§ 132. Upon the introduction of Christianity O. E., in accord with the other Germanic languages, rendered the Lat. *archiepiscopus* by the semi-learned compound *erce-biscop.* I have said semi-learned because of the foreign prefix (*erce* from Lat. *archi-*) for which no Anglo-Saxon could have a linguistic sense.

As for the latter half of the compound, *biscop,* it had already been incorporated into the language long before the introduction of Christianity, and must therefore be regarded as a popular word.

The native prefix corresponding to *„archi-"* was *hēah-,* lit. „high" (as in *hēahfæder,* a patriarch, lit. „high father"; etc.); and, in fact, a *hēah-biscop* = *archiepiscopus* does occur, but only in a few cases. These I shall proceed to cite:

Birhtwáld, Bretone hēahbiscop. Wiht. Prol.

mid gcðeahte Wulfhelmes mīnes hēh-bisceopes, „Wulfhelmi, archiepiscopi“. Æthelstan I, Prol.

archiepiscopus sive summus episcopus, „hēhbiscop (hehbisc' MS.). D. Rit. 194, 14.

In D. Rit., *hēhbiscop* occurs at times for Lat. *„pontifex“*: *beati Silvestri confessoris atque pontificis, „. . . . & ǣc hēh biscopes“.* 49, 3.

Marcelli martyris atque pontificis, „. . . & ǣc hēh biscopes“. 49, 11. Very similar: 53, 20. 57, 7. 72, 5 etc.

In all other cases, the word *hēah* in the expression *hēah biscop* is used adjectively: e. g.:

[ceadda] wes hēh biscop on orleahtre. Chad. 252.

In this case *hēh biscop* must mean only *„pontifex“*; great, famous, bishop, since Chad was never an archbishop. Similarly we read in Bede 450, 11: *sē hēah bysceop & sē hālga Willfrið, „antistes eximius“.*

§ 133. *erce-biscop* (*ærce-biscep, -biscop; arce-bisceop, -biscop*).

The word *biscop* can not be directly explained from Lat. *episcopus.* A Romance **ebescobu* or **ebescopu* (according to Heyne in his „Wörterbuch“, Low Lat. *„biscopus“*; but cf. Pogatscher, § 365) is accepted as the immediate prototype, from which were developed the Common West-Germanic borrowed terms — O. E. *biscop,* O. S. *biskop,* O. H. G. *biscof.* On O. E. *biscop* < { **ebescopu.* / **ebescobu.* } vid. Pogatscher, § 365 and „Nachtrag“ to § 365.

Note 1. From **ebescobu* we should of course expect not *biscop,* but **bescob* or **biscob,* the form *biscop* being, according to Pogatscher, „ein blosser Notbehelf auf Seite der westgerm. Lautvertretung“. And just here the North. dialect offers us a very interesting wordform, *biscob,* — with '*b*' — found with considerable frequency along with the *p*-forms (*pontificis, hēhbiscobes — hēhbiscob'* Ms. D. Rit. 76, 5. *biscobas* Lind. Mk. 15, 11. *biscob* Mk. p. 2; 2. Vid. Cook for still more. Once in Bede: *biscobwýrðe* 398, 19).

Might not this *biscob* be the missing normal development from **ebescobu*?

As to the assumption that *biscop* (*biscob*) is from Low Lat. *biscopus,* it is difficult to see upon what authority Heyne and others base the existence of such a form. It is certainly not found in the great lexicon of Du Cange; and, as to a suppostitious existence, such a form as **biscopus* — half popular, half classic — would, as Pogatscher well remarks (§ 365), be impossible in the face of the entirely popular developments

of *episcopus* in all the Rom. languages. But this much is, however, very probable (Pog. 'Nachtrag'); viz. that the West-Germanic forms represent a passing stage of the popular development from *episcopus*, **episcopo* > **ebescobu*, in which the *p*-sound was retained longer in the unaccented syllable than in the accented. Certainly the North. *biscob* as compared with the *p*-forms would seem to point to some such middle stage.

Note 2. Kluge's surmise that *biscop* owes its present form to popular connection with *bī-* and *scop* will scarcely hold, in view of the fact that the full stress in all substantive compounds of *bi-* falls upon the first syllable; e. g. O. H. G., O. E. *bí-spel*, O. E. *bí-word*, etc. Thus **piscopo* would have become *bí-scop* and not *bíscop*. In other words, with *bi-* accented, only a long *i* is possible. Cf. Kluge in Grd.[2] I, 338.

§ 134. As to the prefix *erce- ærce- arce* (no form **earce-*, with the breaking, has been met with by me), it should be noted that only *erce-* (*ærce-*) is phonologically justified: the form *arce-* being the result of the subsequent attraction of the Lat. „*archi-*" upon *erce-*. Vid. Pogatscher, § 44; vid. also the Oxford Dict., article (*arch-*); Sievers Gram.[3] § 79, Anm. 3.

A few **examples.**

sē sexta ærcebiscop. Bede 252, 6.

Ærcebiscepes borges-bryce. Alfred's Laws. Schmidt. 3. Lieb. 3.

Hēr þeodorus mon hādode tō ercebiscepe. Chron. (A) Anno 668.

archiepiscopus, arcebiscop. Ælfric. Wr. W. 155, 7.

ēadige arcebisceop. Chron. (C) Anno 1044.

on þisan ʒēare ʒefōr Eadsie arcebiscop. Chron. (D) 1051.

The archbishop conceived of as bishop is termed quite frequently simply „*biscop*". Thus, „*þeodor biscop*". Bede 260, 23, &c. &c.

Sē (*pāpa*) *sénde pallium Stigande biscope.* Chron. (D) 1058. Cf. with this Chron. (E) 1058: *sē ylca pāpā sénde Stigande arcebiscope pallium hider tō lánde.*

§ 135. The archiepiscopal dignity, „*archiepiscopatus*", is called in O. E. *sē erce-biscophād*, or in the popular abbreviated form *erce-hād* (*arce-*, *ærce-hād*):

Laurentius ærcebiscophāde onfēng. Bede 106, 23.

ðæt his æftergéngan symle ðone pallium and ðone ercehād æt ðām apostolīcan setle . . feccan sceóldon. Hom. II, 132, 10.

Just as *biscop* appears for *erce-biscop,* so also we find quite often the simple *biscophād, „episcopatus“,* for *ercebiscophād, ercehād*: Bede 258, 3, etc., etc.

§ 136. For the archiepiscopal consecration, ordination, cf. sub *hād* § 123 N. 1, 2.

The following passages will serve to illustrate:

Hēr þeodorus mon hādode tō ercebiscope. Chron. (A) Anno 668.

Instead of *hādian, gehālgian* often occurs (*gehālgian* = both „consecrate“ and „ordain“):

þeodor biscep hine gehālgode. Chron. (A) Anno 670.

Etc. Etc.

§ 137. The especial insignium of the archbishop was his *„pallium“,* or official cloak, O. E. *sē pallium,* from which arose the peculiar expression *„pallium onfōn“,* to receive the pallium, i. e. to become archbishop, found sometimes instead of the more usual *„ercebiscophāde onfōn“* (Bede 106, 23 etc.):

Hēr Noðhelm ærce-biscep onfēng pallium from Romana biscepe. Chron. A, Anno 736. Similar, Ibid. Anno 764, 831, &c.

§ 138. The archbishopric was known as *ercebiscoprīce, erce-rīce,* from *rīce* (Ger. *'Reich'*), literally „kingdom“; or, again, the simple *biscoprīce, biscopdōm* were used (analogous to *biscophād = ercebiscophād*). It is worthy of remark that I have never found an *ercebiscopdōm,* although *biscopdōm* is much in vogue; perhaps, however, its use may be concluded from the fact that we find it in the Peterborough Chronicle; cf. Chron. E, Anno 616: *æfter him fēng Mellitus tō ercebiscopdōme.*

Examples.

Hēr forðfērde Sigerīc arcebisceop and fēng Ælfric Wiltūnscīre bisceop tō þām arcebisceoprīce. Chron. (A) Anno 994. Similar, Chron. (F) Anno 1051.

on þisan gēare gefōr Ēadsie arcebiscop . . . and sē cýng séalde Rotbearde . . . ðæt arcerīce. Chron. (D) Anno 1051.

Hēr Wulfstān arcebiscop onfēng eft biscoprīces on Dorceceastre. Chron. (D) Anno 954.

Hēr Ēadsiȝe arcebisceop forlēt ðæt bisceop-rīce for his untrumnysse. Chron. (C) Anno 1044.

The use of the above mentioned word „*pallium*“ in the sense of archbishopric is rare and marks a very interesting metonymy:

ðā Rodbert arcebiscop . . fērde him ofer sǣ and forlēt his pallium. . . . and Stigand biscop fēng tō þan arcebiscoprīce. Chron. (F) Anno 1051.

§ 139. The Lat. „*sedes archiepiscopalis*“, the archiepiscopal see, is rendered in O. E. by *erce-stōl* (*arce-stōl*), *ercebiscopstōl*, or by *biscopseðl* (Bede 116, 25. 90, 13 etc.), *bisceopsetl* (Bede 478, 2 etc.):

ǣlc ōðer biscop scólde bēon munec-hādes mann ðe ðone arcebiscopstōl gesǣte on Cantwarebyri. Chron. (F) Anno 995. Earle p. 331. Vid. also Chron. (F) Anno 616, 829.

arce-stol occurs:

Æðelgār b' [= *biscop*] *fēng æfter him tō arce-stōle.* Chron. (C) Anno 998. Furthermore: Chron. (F) Anno 870 (Plummer p. 283). Chron. (D) 1069.

§ 140. The archbishop as a metropolitan, i. e. the bishop whose see is the capital city of a province, is called „*sē éaldor-biscop*“ — from *éaldor*, „*senior*“, „*princeps*“ — on account of the superior prominence of his position among his colleagues.

Cf. *éaldor-apostol*, „*princeps apostolorum*“; *éaldor-burh*, „metropolis“, &c.:

Godwine, áldorbisscope Gallia rīces, „*a Godwino metropolitano episcopo Galliarum*“. Bede 408, 8.

In certain connections, the pope was also entitled „*éaldorbiscop*“ (For the Anglo-Saxon estimate of the position of the pope vid. § 127.):

þā wæs in ðā tīd Vitalius pāpa, ðæs apostolīcan seðles áldorbiscop, „*sedi apostolicae praeerat*“. Bede 252, 19.

§ 141. The title of *éaldorbiscop* was not, however limited to Christian pontiffs: it was also freely employed to

designate the chief priests of both Jews and heathen (cf. sub „Bishop"):

[*Herod*] *ðā ʒesamnode ealle ðā éaldor-biscopas and ðæs folces bōceras.* Hom. I, 78.

Similar: *sē éaldor-biscop.* Hom. I, 46. II, 422. II, 226. 248, 9, 15, 20. 250. Ass. (Æ) VI, 153.

In one passage this compound occurs in the sense above stated, but in reversed order, *„bisceopéaldras"* [Ass. (Æ) V, 51].

Instead of *éaldorbiscop* = High Priest, the term *hēafod-biscop,* properly „Head-bishop", is sometimes found:

Abiaðar ðǣra Iūdēiscra hēafod-biscop. Hom. II, 420, 31.

In the Alfredian (?) translation of Bede occurs the word *éaldorbiscop* as title of the heathen chief priest of the Anglo-Saxons, Cēfi:

Him þā answarode his éaldorbisceop, Cēfi wæs hāten, „primus pontificum". Bede 134, 11. Excepting here, the same priest is called simply *„biscop", Lat. pontifex*: Bede 138, 2 etc.

§ 142. 5. The highest official of the Eastern Church, the Patriarch, Lat. *patriarcha,* was designated in O. E. usually *„sē patriarcha"* — as in Lat.

Only once do we find the native compound, *hēah-fæder,* (High Father) used in this connection, a word which otherwise, as we have seen (vid. § 41), signifies only the patriarchs of the Old Testament. The passage in question will be found in Narratiuncula, Passio Scae. Marg. 40, 4 et seq.:

Ðeodosius . . sē wæs þǣre hǣðenre hēhfæder, dēofolgeld hē wúrðode, „Theodosii . . qui erat gentilium patriarcha et idola adorabat".

The more usual title, patriarcha, occurs in O. E. in the following passages:

þis eal hēt ðus secʒean Alfrede cyninge, domne Helias, patriarcha on Ʒerusalem. Leechd. II, 290.

þǣr wæs sē pāpa on and sē patriarcha. Chron. (D), Anno 1050.

§ 143. 6. The Bishop.

O. E. *biscop* differs considerably in meaning from its Latin prototype *„episcopus",* since the latter refers only to the

Christian ecclesiastical office,[1]) while on the other hand the former possesses not alone a special, but also quite a general sense: *biscop* translates not only „*episcopus*", but also *pontifex, flamen, antistes, sacerdos,* &c. in their various uses as Christian, Jewish,[2]) and heathen chief priests.

Furthermore, *biscop* embraces, as far as concerns priests of the Christian religion, as well the „*suffraganeus*" or bishop in the narrower sense of the word, as the „*archiepiscopus*" (cf. § 134).

On the form of the word the reader is referred to §§ 133; 133 n. 1, 2.

§ 144. Note. A native equivalent of the Lat. „*episcopus*" occurs only in one passage and seems to be an attempt on the part of the translater to render literally in O. E. the Gr. Lat. word. I refer to D. Rit. 21, 4, where the compound „*hēah-scēawere*", High Seer, Overseer, *ἐπί-σκοπος*, — from *scēawian*, *σκέπτω*, Ger. *schauen* — is found for bishop:

Christus . . . pontifex futurorum bonorum, „*. . . hēh-scēawere vel biscop* (*bisc'* MS)".

After thus analyzing the meaning of *biscop*, we shall now proceed to exemplify the special significations of the word:

§ 145. As a Christian pontiff — „*episcopus*":

wæs ǣrest lǣded tō Bretta biscopum, „*Britonum sacerdotibus*". Bede 100, 4.

Iustus sē biscop, „*Iustus superstes*". Bede 116, 26.

biscopas mid folcum . . . . fornumene wǣron, „*praesules cum populis*". Bede 52, 31.

ðæs ārwúrðan biscopes Cynebyrhtes, „*reverendissimi antistitis Cuneberti*". Bede 4, 22.

Iohannes sē apostel . . swā swā þā biscopas bǣdon begān þā féorðan bōc be Crīstes godcúndnysse. Ælfric Test. 12, 42.

Flamen, biscop. Wr. W. 188. 21. 406, 8. 407, 15. 499, 8.

Etc., etc.

§ 146. The suffragan („*suffraganeus*") was officially termed in O. E. „*sē lēod-biscop*", i. e. „bishop of the common

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[1]) I speak of „*episcopus*" in a religious sense; consequently no reference is made to the profane and secular senses of the word.

[2]) Also O. H. G. „*biscof*" is found in the sense of Jewish High Priest; vid. Raumer p. 297.

people"; but it should be borne in mind that usually the general title „biscop" was used even when *lēod-biscop* was meant.

The first part of this compound is from the word *lēod* (str. f.), nation, people.

By rendering the Lat. *„suffraganeus"* by his *lēod-biscop* the Anglo-Saxon emphasized the popular character of this office as contrasted with the higher, and therefore much less popular, episcopal offices. Cf. for example such compounds as e. g. *lēod-hata,* „tyrant", lit. „hater of the people"; *lēod-gebyrga,* „protector of the people", i. e. „prince" etc.

Examples.

episcopus, lēodbisceop. Wr. W. 307, 40.

Hēr forðfērde Oskytel arcebisceop. Sē wæs ǣrest tō Dorkeceastre tō lēodbisceope gehālgod, and eft .... tō ærcebiscope. Chron. (B), Anno 971.

þǣr wǣron æt his hālgunge twēgen ercebisceopas and tȳn lēodbisceopas. Chron. (C), Anno 979.

sē hālga Cūðberhtus, Lindisfarneniscere gelaðunge lēodbisceop. Hom. II, 148, 22. II, 152. Similar, Earle, Land Ch., 229, 230.

Note 1. From O. E. *lēod-biscop* is derived, according to Kahle (p. 27), the O. N. *ljóðbiskop,* „suffragan".

Note 2. I cannot agree with Kahle in his interpretation of O. N. *ljóðbiskop* (< O. E. *lēod-biscop*) as „Bishop to the heathen" („Bischof an die Heiden") i. e. missionary bishop. Kahle bases his view on the meaning of O. E. *lēod,* concerning which he says (Diss. p. 28): „O. E. *leoþ* [*lēod* is meant] übersetzt Lat. '*gentes*' in der Bedeutung 'Heiden', und die Bischöfe waren eingesetzt '*ut gentilibus praedicarent verbum dei*'."

But this meaning of *lēod* is very unusual, occurring as far as I know only once or twice in North.-Merc. (vid. § 8) and not at all in W. S. *Lēod* signifies *populus, gens,* in general, and means *„gentiles"*, heathen, only when the adj. *hǣðen* is affixed (cf. the citations in Bos. Toll.), just as it stands for Christians when *crīsten* is added.

On the other hand we frequently find *lēod-* in compounds denoting the native-born people, as the passages quoted above § 146 will show. The same development is found in O. H. G. cf. forms like N. H. G. *Leutpriester,* M. H. G. *liutpriester* — „Pfarrer, Weltpriester, im Gegensatz zu Ordensgeistlichen" (Grimm, Deutsches Wörterb.; and cf. the passages from the M. H. G. there cited in proof), or N. H. G. *Leutkirche,* M. H. G. *liutkirche,* the parish church, as contrasted with the cathedral (cf. Grimm).[1]

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[1]) After writing the above, I find my view confirmed by Taranger,

§ 147. With reference to his diocese (*scīr*, fem.) the bishop is known as *„sē scīrebiscop“*, *„episcopus provinciae“*:

sē munuc ðe mynster næbbe, cume tō scīrebiscope. Æthelr. V, 6.

Gif prēost on unriht ūt of scīre hād begite, ... þolian his hādes, būton scīre-biscop heom hādes geunne. Schmidt, North. Priestergesetz, 12.

§ 148. The Lat. expression *„episcopatus“* contains two conceptions: a) the office or dignity of a bishop, the episcopacy; and b) the diocese or bishopric.

For *„episcopatus“*, episcopacy, we have in O. E. *biscophād*, *biscopdōm* and *biscoprīce.*

In the same sense *biscop-scīr* appears to be used at times, a word that usually signifies only „diocese“. This rare use of *biscopscīr* will be clear if we consider that the original meaning of *scīr* was business, office; cf. O. H. G. *„scīra haban, procurare“* (Schade, Wörterbuch 2nd Ed.); also O. E. *scīr*, *„procuratio“*, *„dispensatio“*, etc. Vid. Bos. Toll. for other examples.[1])

„Episcopatus“, diocese, is rendered by O. E. *biscoprīce* (bishop-ric) and *biscop-scīr* (the bishop's 'shire'):[2])

§ 149. **Examples.**

a) *Flaminea i. episcopali gradus, bisceophādas.* Wr. W. 239, 22.

Flamina, biscophādas. Wr. W. 403, 33; similar, Ibid. 403, 34. 512, 28.

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who shows clearly that the naming of the bishop according to his *lēod* and *scīr* was a system peculiar to the Anglo-Saxon state and having no connection whatever with his activity as a missionary. Vid. Taranger pp. 60—62.

[1]) Compare also O. E. *„prāvostscīr“*, *„praepositura“*, office of provost, Ben. R. Log. 111, 15 etc.

[2]) Bos. Toll. adds also *biscopdōm* (*bisceopdōm*, *biscepdōm*) in this sense; but his examples from Bede (Miller 170, 8 and 170, 3) are all spurious, the MSS. all reading *biscop-scire.* His sole genuine quotation (*Wine hēold þone biscepdōm iii gēar; and sē Ægelbryht onfēng Persa biscepdōmes . . .* Chron. A, anno 660.) should be translated 'office of bishop', bishopric.

magni episcopatus, hēalīces biscophādes. Bout. Ald., Giles p. 40: *„summi pontificatus“.*[1])

biscophād, sacerdotium. Bout. Ald., Giles p. 72: *„pontificium et flaminium“.*[1])

biscephād, sacerdotium (of the heathen). Oros. 164, 31.

hē hæfde ðæt bisceprīce L wintra æt Scīrebúrnan. Chron. (A), Anno 867.

Wine hēold ðone biscepdōm iii *ȝēar and sē Æȝelbryht onfēng Persa biscepdōmes on Galwalum bi Signe.* Chron. (A) Anno 660.

pontificium, biscopdōm. Bout. Ald., Giles p. 72.[1])

Etc., etc.

As an example of *biscop-scīr* = 'episcopacy', I will quote Bede 170, 8:

hē onfēng his āgenre ceastre bisscopscīre Parisiace hātte, „accepto episcopatu Parisiacae civitatis“.

b) *ðām biscope ðe sēo hālige stōw on his bisceoprīce is, „episcopi ad cujus diocesim pertinet lucus ipse“.* Ben. R. 119, 9.

Diocessis vel parochia, bisceoprīce. Wr. W. 307, 41.

adjacentes domus aut diocesis, biscoprīca. Bout. Ald., Giles p. 27: *„parochias“.*[1])

Diaccesis vel parochia, bisceopscīr vel biscoprīc. Ælfric. Wr. W. 155, 8.

Diocessin, biscopscīr. Wr. W. 386, 32.

ādrifen wæs of his biscopscīre. Bede 300, 25.

Etc.

§ 150. The expression „episcopal see“, *biscopseðl* etc., corresponds precisely to the rendition of archiepiscopal see (§ 139). I shall therefore cite in this place only a few passages in which *biscopseðl* apparently denotes not the see but the diocese; e. g.:

Wini wæs ādrifen . . of his biscopseðle, „de episcopatu“. Bede 170, 11. Very similar, Ibid. 298, 26. 300, 5.

Probably, however, the translator only put *biscopseðl* as a free rendering of the Lat. *„episcopatus“,* instead of the more accurate *biscoprīce,* „bishopric“.

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[1]) [Cp. Napier, Old Engl. Glosses s. v.]

For the O. E. equivalents of the expressions „to ordain bishop“ (*biscop gehādian, gehālgian*), „be made, become, bishop“ (*biscophāde onfōn, tō biscopdōme, -rīce, fōn*), „receive the episcopal pallium“ (*pallium onfōn*), the reader is referred to §§ 136, 137.

§ 151. The verb *biscopian*, „to confirm“, is interesting as bearing witness to the remarkable flexibility of the O. E. language.

Of *biscopian* we have also a participial adjective, *unbiscopod* (a „*biscopod*“ is not found), „not confirmed“. Formally, this word would appear to have been molded after Lat. „*episcopare*“; but the meaning of the latter is not „to confirm“, but the much broader one, „to perform the functions of the episcopal office“, in general.

Examples of *biscopian.*

sē bisceop bið gesett tō hādigenne prēostas and tō bisceopgenne cīld. Canons of Ælfric 17.

nē hine mon fulluhte fúrðon fullian nē mōste nē biscopian. Eccl. Inst. 22.

nē nǣnne man man nē lǣte unbisceopod tō lánge. Wulf. 300, 27.

In the same sense

unbiscopod. Can. Edg. 15.

unbiscpod. Wulf. 120 (*unbiscopod,* MS. CE).

§ 152. From the verb *biscopian* is derived the noun *biscopung*, ‘confirmation’, ‘the act of confirming’ (rare):

sē hālga gāst hī [= *ðās seofanféaldan Godes gyfa*] *tōdǣlð .. crīstenum mannum, ǣlcum be his mǣðe and be his mōdes géornfulnesse, ealswā biscopas on biscpunge* [= *biscopunge*] *tō gode sylfum wilniað géorne.* Wulf. 51, 11 et seq.

Note. This passage is important as establishing the use of *biscopung* in O. E. times. The Oxf. Dict. (Art. ‘*Bishoping*’) has no example earlier than the year 1175.

§ 153. 2. *Biscop* in the Jewish hierarchy, as designation of the chief priests:

Examples are very numerous:

ðā þēnas cōmon tō þām bisceopum and tō þām phariseon, „ad pontifices et phariseos“. Joh. 7, 45.

mon lǣdde Aristobolus tō Rōme gebúndenne; sē wæs ǣgðer gē heora (sc. *Iūdēa*) *cyning gē heora biscop.* Oros. 238, 13.

sē Caiphas wæs ðæs gēares bisceop. Joh. 18, 13: Lat. *qui erat pontifex.*

&c. &c.

Of Aaron:

Hē (*Moises*) . . . . . *scrīdde þone bisceop* (*Aaron*) *mid līnenum rēafe, „pontificem“.* Lev. Grein 8, 6.

of Aarones cynne þæs forman bisceopes. Ass. (Æ) II, 80. Similar Exod. Grein 29, 30.

Note. Melchisedec also, that interesting and mysterious character of the Old Testament, who was both king and „priest of the Most High God“ at the same time, appears in O. E. with the title of „bishop“, as in Gen. 2103: *sē mǣra Melchisedec, lēoda bisceop*; and Gen. 2123: *ʒodes bisceop.*

He was otherwise known as simply *sācerd* (*Melchisedech . . . sē wæs cining and godes sācerd, „sacerdos altissimi“.* Ælf.'s Genesis 14, 18, and very similar, Screadunga 22; 5, 7), or *mæssepr̄eost*, „mass-priest“ (vid. sub *mæssepr̄eost*, § 156, for the examples, and compare with § 156 — above).

3. *Biscop* as heathen priest.

§ 154. The instances of this use of the word are likewise comparatively numerous.

The corresponding Latin terms are generally *„sacerdotes“, „pontifices“, „antistites“*, or *„augures“.*

A limited number of passages will suffice:

ðā Egyptiscan bisceopas, „sacerdotum Aegyptiorum“. Oros. 34, 17.

ðā bebēad Alexander ðǣm hǣðnan biscepe, „fani ipsius Antistitem“. Oros. 126, 27.

þēh þe heora biscopas from hiora godum sǣden . . ., „auguribus“. Oros. 138, 34. Similar, Ibid. 140, 2, etc.

&c.

4. The Priest.

§ 155. In rendering Lat. *presbyter,* the O. E. always emphasizes the principal function of the priestly

office, viz. the sacrifice of the mass. Thus we find the priest designated

a) *mæssepreost,* the 'mass-priest', from *prēost* and O. E. *mæsse,* a word derived from the Lat. *missa,* 'mass', through the Romance.

The *æ* of *mæsse* is difficult to explain, but the reader is referred to the exposition given by Morsbach, Literaturblatt f. German. u. Roman. Philologie, 1889, No. 3, column 86 et seq., as the best solution of the difficulty yet offerred.

Forms.

messeprīost, Ct. 37, 35 (Kent, 9th Cent.). *messeprēost,* Ct. 41, 32 (Kent, 835). Rush. Mt. 8, 4. Earle, Land Ch. pp. 254, *mæsse prēost* 255 (11th Cent.) *mæsse prīost.* Chron. A 669. Past. 7, 22. Earle, Land Ch. p. 77 (Anno 805—831).

Furthermore in North.:

mæsa-prēast, Lind. Mt. 2, 4. *meaessa-prēost,* Lind. Mt. p. 9, 16. *measse-prēost,* Lind. Mt. 8, 4. *meas-p'ēost,* D. Rit. 194, 9, etc. *measa-p'stas,* ibid. 194, 10. Lind. Mt. 12, 5. *mesa-prēost,* ibid. 12, 4.[1])

Examples.

wæs sē ǣresta abbud þæs ylcan mynstres Petrus hāten, mæssepreost, „Petrus presbyter“. Bede 90, 26.

þæs mynstres prōfost and regolwéard wæs in ðā tīd Boisel, sē wæs mycelra mæȝena mæssepreost, „sacerdos“. Bede 360, 32.

Arrius sē mæssepreost, „Arius Alexandrinae urbis presbyter. Oros. 282, 33.

ȝyf hwylc mæssepreost wilnað þæt hine mon tō munuchāde tō mynstre únderfō .... Ben. R. 105, 14.

&c. &c.

mæssepreost is much more frequently employed for the priest (mass-priest) than any of the synonymous terms quoted below. The latter are, in fact of comparatively rare occurrence.

Before proceeding further, it should be added that in the word *mæssepreost* the prefix *mæsse-* is in so far essential as

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1) [For north. *meassa* cp. Bülbring, Altengl. Elementarbuch § —.]

prēost alone possesses quite a general meaning, denoting a priest of any rank whatever, while, as we have seen, *mæsse-prēost* signifies properly only the *'presbyter'*, or masspriest. Exceptions are rare or poetic. Cf. under *prēost*, § 104.

§ 156. b) *sē mæssere*, 'He who performs the mass'.

The passages containing this term are as follows:

mæssere, 'presbyter'. Ecg.'s Confess. Th. p. 348, and ibid.: *Ȝif hwā hād forlēose, mæssere oððe bisceop, sȳ hē on hrēowe oð dēað, 'presbyter vel episcopus'*.

þēah þe sē mæssere synfull sȳ, 'presbyter'. Con. Ecgb. 7.

In Wulf., once in composition:

hēr sýndan .... mæsserbanan (*sācerdbanan*, MS. E). Wulf. 165, 10, MS. I.

Vid. also immediately below.

The naïve, subjective ratiocination of the Middle Ages, which was ever prone to clothe everything, however foreign or strange, in homelike garb, was shared in full measure by the Anglo-Saxons; and no better illustration of it can be found than in the conception of the priests of the Jews as *'mæsseras'* and *'mæssepreōstas'*. The passages in question are not very numerous, though entirely sufficient for our needs.

The Song of Azarias (line 149) furnishes us a very pretty example of this principle; the poet sings of the three young Jewish heroes in the fiery furnace:

blētsien ðē ðīne sācerdas, sōðfæst cyning, mílde mæsseras, — 'thy gentle masspriests'.

Characteristic, also, are the following:

Melchisedec wæs cnyngc and mæsseprēost. Prud. 5 a. Vid. Bos. Toll.

ðā éaldras and ðā mæsseprēostas, „seniores et sacerdotes" (sc. *Judaeorum*) Nicod. 478, 32. Very similar, 478, 35. 482, 32, 27. *et passim* in Nicod.

The remaining examples are taken from the Northumbrian and Mercian gospels:

ðā áldormenn biscopa vel mæsa-prēasta, 'principes sacerdotum'. Lind. Mt. 2, 4. Similar: Ibid. p. 9, 16. 8, 4. 12, 4, 5. Rush. Mt. 8, 4: *messe-prēost.*

§ 157. c) *mæsse-þegn,* i. e. 'mass-thane', from *þegn* (*þēn*), Lat. *minister.*

This designation of the priest is very rare in O.E., occurring only in the legal phrase *'mæsseþegn and woruldþegn'* (mass-thane and secular thane), and was evidently employed only to show the equality before the law of the mass-priest and the thane.

On the position of the *mæsse-prēost* in the Anglo-Saxon state vid. Taranger, pp. 76, 77; Von Amira, in Paul's Grd.[2] III, p. 101. Cf. also Schmidt's 'Glossar' and Bos. Toll, Art. *'mæsse-prēost.*

My only example is a passage from 'Wergilds' (Th. p. 79; Schmidt's Appen. VII, 2, § 5):

mæsse-þegnes and woruld þegnes (sc. *wergild*) *II þūsend þrymsa.*

§ 158. d) *presbyter* (*presbiter*), a learned term, occurs very rarely:

Hēr Columba presbiter cōm of Scottum. Chr. A 565 (*Columba mæsseprēost,* E.).

Presbiter is mæsse-prēost. Can. Ælfric 17.

§ 159. e) Ælfric in a single passage paraphrases *'presbyter'* — perhaps by way explaining the foreign term — with *éald-wita*:

Presbiter is mæsseprēost oððe éald-wita, nā þæt hē ǣlc éald sȳ, ac þæt hē éald sȳ on wīsdōme. Can. Ælfric 17.

In Bede the same expression occurs once as the translation of Lat. *'senior'* (144, 11 et seq.):

cwæð hē (= *sē mæsseprēost & abbud*) *þæt him sægde sum éald weota* (*'retulisse quendam seniorem'*), *þæt hē wǣre gefulwad æt middum dæge from Paulino þǣm biscope.*

Whether 'senior' here is put only for „venerable elder", or really in the sense of presbyter or abbot can not be determined. But it should be noted that *'senior'* in the two last senses, although rare, is nevertheless found early in the Middle Ages. Cf. Du Cange.

§ 160. The office of mass-priest is in O. E. *mæsse-prēosthād,* corresponding to Lat. *presbyteratus*:

Ēalā! feala is þāra þe sācerdhādes on unriht ʒéornað mæssepreōsthādes for ʒītsuncge woroldʒescrȳna. Wulf. 276, 16. Similar: Bede 482, 4, 7. 384, 9.

mæssepreōsthād, as designation of Jewish priesthood, occurs Defen. 108: *mæssepreōsthād, sacerdotium.*

§ 161. As confessor, the priest was known in O. E. as *'sē scrift'.*

The same term was employed to denote likewise both the act of confessing, the confession, and the prescribed penance. In the same connection we have the verb *scrīfan,* to hear confession, Mod. Eng. to *shrive*; cf. the corresponding terms O. H. G. *scrīban,* O. S. *scrīban,* O. N. *skrífa,* Mod. Ger. *schreiben,* to write, Lat. *scribere*; also O. Fr. *skrīva,* to write, impose a punishment; O. H. G. *scrift,* O. Fr. *shrift,* 'script', 'writing', Mod. Ger. *'Schrift'*; O. N. *skript,* drawing, writing, confession, penance, Mod. Eng. *'shrift'.*

Misled by the wide difference in meaning many scholars have, until a few years ago, desired to adopt for the O. E. O. N. O. N. O. Fr. a supposititious, old Germanic radical *skrūb-,* 'to impose punishment'; while the O. H. G. O. S., it was held, was derived directly from the Lat. *scrībere.* This view, however, has been entirely refuted by H. Zimmer, Z. f. d. A. 36, 145 et seqq. (1892). According to the latter the entire *'script'*-class finds its origin in Lat. *scrībere, scriptum, scripta.*

O. E. *scrīfan* with all of its correspondents were at an early date borrowed from the Latin with the fundamental meaning 'write'. In the same way *scriptum* (pl. *scripta*), a writing, a script, was borrowed, at first in the form **script* which, however, was soon felt as an abstract noun derived from *scrīfan,* and, consequently, changed into *scrift.* Now, after the conversion of the English tribes to Christianity, *scrift* came to denote the ordinances of penance prescribed by the Church of England — *'scripta'* — so called because they were recorded or inscribed in a so-called *'confessionale'* (*scrift-bōc*). Later on, this meaning of *scrift* — ordinance of penance, then

penance — was transferred to the penance-imposer, the confessor; and, at the same time, the verb *scrīfan* became influenced by *scrift,* and adopted the meanings 'to hear confession', 'to impose punishment or penance'.

Wherever in the other languages the verb occurs with the latter senses, the influence of the English Church is to be recognized. For further details see Zimmer in the above mentioned article.

§ 162. **Examples.**

hē þonne óndette ǣlce costnunge, ðē him on becume, ðām mōde his scriftes, „menti pastoris". Past. 105, 16.

swā him his scrift tǣce. Hom. II, 94, 9.

etc. etc.

Cf. *forðām ā man sceal þām unstrángan men for Godes lufe and ege līðlīcor dēman and scrīfon þonne þām strángan,* Lat. *'judicari'.* Cn. II, 68, § 1.

For *scrift* = confession cf.:

gā man tō scrifte, 'one should go to confession'. Æthel. VII, Anhang § 2.

ʒif prēost scriftes forwynne, 'if a priest refuse confession'. Anhang II, 8. etc. etc.

A few passages are found in which confession is called more fully *scrift-sprǣc* str. f., from *sprǣc,* 'speech':

Ʒif dēaðscýldig man scriftsprǣce ʒýrne, 'if a condemned man desire confession'. Edw. and Gūð. 5 Pref., Cn. II, 44.

For further examples of *scrift* and *scrīfan* see Bos. Toll.

Some examples of *scrift-bōc,* Lat. *'confessionale'* (cf. above):

þā mæsse-prēostas . . . . sceolan heora scrift-bēc mid rihte tǣcan and lǣran. Bl. 43.

swā hwylc man swā þās scrift-bōc tiliʒe tō ābrecanne . . hē sȳ fordēmed, „. . . Confessionale hoc". Poen. Ecgb. Th. p. 392, 35. Also: Chart. Th. 430, 20 (vid. Bos. Toll.). Wulf. 242, 22.

§ 163. The parish, the precinct of the priest as confessor, is *sēo scriftscīr,* — from *scrift* and *scīr* „shire", or district:

ʒif hē on his scrift-scīre ǣnigne man wīte Ʒode oferhȳre. Edg.'s Can. Th. p. 395.

Sācerd scel on his scriftscīre wīslīce and wærlice lǣdan and lǣran þā godcúnde héorde þē hē héaldan scel. Wulf. 275, 15. Etc.

In addition to *scriftscīr, prēostscīr* and *hȳrnes, 'parochia',* — from *ʒehȳran* (cf. Ger. *gehören*), obey, belong to, — were used:

nē spane nān mæsse-prēost nānne mon of ōðre cyrcean hȳrnesse tō his cyrcan, nē of ōðre prēost-scȳre lǣre ðæt mon his cyrcan ʒesēce. Eccl. Inst. XIV. Jh.

Compare the above with the explanation given under *hīeremon,* § 55.

§ 164. As chaplain we find the priest designated by the compounds *hánd-prēost,* or *hīred-prēost,* i. e. the „hand-priest" or assistant, and the „family priest" — *hīred* denoting family — corresponding to the ecclesiastical Lat. *„presbyter domesticus", „sacerdos domesticus"* (vid. Du Cange).

For *hánd-prēost,* cf. such compounds as O. E. *hánd-ʒesella,* partner, comrade; *hánd-þegn,* assistant; and others.

Examples.

Stigand ðē was þes cínges rǣdgifa and his hándprēst. Chron. F, anno 1051.

þréngde hē his hándprēostas and ēac sume of his tīm-prēostan, „capellanis, clericis suis". Chron. F, 870. Plummer p. 284 (above).

sacellanus, hándprēost. Ælfric. Wr. W. 155, 28.

On Brunes ʒewitnesse mæsse prēostes and . . . on ealra þǣra hȳred prēosta. Cart. Sax. No. 248. Similar: Nos. 1249, 1252, &c.

§ 165. The foreign term *capellān* (< Lat. *capellanus*) was introduced in the closing years of the O. E. period.

In a genuine document dating about A. D. 1075 and concerning the benefactions of Bishop Leofric of Exeter to his cathedral, we read, —

hē [= sē bisceop] ann his capellāne ('capellā' MS.) þider binnan forð mid him silfum on eallum ðām ðíngum þē hē silf dide mid Godes ðēninge. Earle, Land Ch. p. 251.

The earliest M. E. likewise points to the existence in Late O. E. of this term. Cf., for example, Chron. E, anno 1099:

sē cýng Willelm . . . Ranulfe his capellāne þæt biscoprīce on Dūnholme ȝeaf.

8. The Deacon.

§ 166. The O. E. employs here *dīacon* (rarely, and in late texts, *dēacon*), taken bodily from the Lat.-Gr. *diaconus.*

The *„dīacon“* was originally a term denoting 'servant' generally; in the language of the Church it signifies the Levite of the Old Testament and Engl. 'deacon'.

Forms.

The form *dēacon* occurs in the following passages: *Aaron ðīn brōður dēacon, „frater tuus Levites“.* Exod. Gr. 4, 14. *ǣȝðær ȝē dēacon ȝē subdīacon.* Ben. R. 141, 3 (F). Vid. also Nicod. (B) 481, 21. 483, 31.

The form *dīacan* is found Wulf. 216. 7.

§ 167. Note. In addition to the usual *dīacon,* the native vocable *þegn* was, perhaps, likewise employed, — in imitation of the Latin '*minister*'. On the use of '*minister*' for deacon in Lat. vid. Du Cange.

In the following passages *þegn* may, perhaps, denote 'deacon', although always in translation of the Lat. '*minister*':

dum ea missa agitur, sequentis missę ministri se induant, „þǣre æftran mæssan þēnas“. De C. M. 388, 9. Similar, 389, 10, and elsewhere in this work. Cf.: *Diaconus is ȝecweden þegn sē þe þēnað þām mæsseprēoste.* Ælfric's Past. 34.

§ 168. The O. E. rendition of *archidiaconus* was either *ercedīacon,* or more rarely the anglicized form *hēahdīacon.*

Examples.

Diaconus is ȝecweden þegn se þe þēnað þām mæsseprēoste. Ælfric's Past. 34.

Dīacones feoh VI gýlde. Æthelbirht 1.

wē nū ȝehȳrdon of ðæs dīacones mūðe. Hom. I, 152, 3.

Ðā apostolas ȝehādodon seofon dīaconas. Hom. I, 44, 10.

Aaron þīn brōður, dēacon, „Aaron, frater tuus, Levites“. Exod. Gr. 4, 14.

For *dīacon* as *„Levites“*, „Levita“, cf. furthermore Jo. 1, 19:

sacerdotes et levitas, „hyra sācerdas and hyra dīaconas“. Also Lk. 10, 32: *levita, sē dīacon.* Etc. Nicod. 478, 32 &c.

This latter use of *dīacon* is, however, not confined to O. E.: even the Gr.-Lat. *diaconus* serves as the usual translation of *„Levita“* (vid. Du Cange, art. *„diaconus“*).

§ 169. The rank or dignity of deacon, *„diaconatus“*, is O. E. *dīaconhād* (Hom. II, 120, 13; etc.), while his official activity was more exactly denoted by *dīacon-þegnung*, *„diaconatus officium“*: Bede 272, 17.

Examples of O. E. *ercedīacon, hēahdīacon*:

archidiaconus, arcedīacon. Ælfric, Wr. W. 155, 33.

erce-dīacon. Hom. I, 416, 29. 418, 16.

hēahdīaconas. Blick. Hom. 109, 24 (sole example).

arcedīacon. North. Priestergesetz 6. 7., Schmidt.

The learned form *„archidīacon“* is found but once; viz. Bede 454, 22:

Becōm hē (= *Benedictus*) *tō frēondscipe ðæs hālgan weres and ðæs gelǣredestan, Bonefatius archidiacones.*

§ 170. 9. The lowest rank of the ecclesiastical *„ordines majores“* was that of the sub-deacon.

He appears in O. E. as *subdīacon,* rarely (but perhaps more frequently so designated by the common people?) as *únderdīacon*:

ðā gehādode sē pāpa Tranquillinum tō prēoste, his twǣgen suna tō dīaconum, and ðā ōðre tō subdīaconum. Lives V, 348.

subdīaconum (dat. pl.). Blick. Hom. 109.

ic Cīolwulf subdīacon. Cart. Sax. 412 (anno 833).

Vid. also: Reg. Con. Zup. 212. Con. Ecgb. Th. p. 361 (2 ><). Poen. Ecgb. II, 1, 24, 25. Can. Edg. Mod. Imp. 7.

Subdiaconus is sōðlīce únderdīacon sē ðe ðā fatu byrð forð tō þām dīacone. Ælfric's Canons, Th. p. 443.

subdiaconus, únderdīacon. Ælfric, Wr. W. 155, 32, also ibid. 308, 4. D. Rit. 194, 1 et seq.

Before passing on, it must be noted that in one monument of O. E., the De C. M., the sub-deacon is consistently called the reader, the „epistle reader“ — *pistol-rǣdere* — referring

to the chief duty of the sub-deacon (cf. in this connection Reg. Con. Zup. 212: *sē subdīacon ʒestīʒe þone rǣdingcscamel*):

subdiaconi, pistel rǣderas. De C. M. 418, 7, 14. Also ibid. 406, 2, 5. 417, 5. 424, 5.

§ 171. 10. The list of the ecclesiastical *„ordines minores“* is opened by the acolyte, or especial assistant of the priest in the church service (Lat. *acoluthus,* Gr. *ἀκόλουθος*, „a follower“, or servant).

In O. E. the Lat. word is adopted as *'sē acolitus'*; or the term is paraphrased 1) as *hūsl-þegn,* i. e. „assistant at communion“, from *hūsl,* the Host;[1]) 2) as *tapor-berend,* i. e. Lat. *ceroferarius,* light-bearer. For *'tapor'* from *„papyrus“* vid. Kluge's Wörterbuch; 3) as *wæx-berend* = *'ceroferarius',* a more literal rendering (*cera* = wax).

The two last mentioned terms are of rare occurrence and are from interlinear versions:

accolitus cum pulvillo sequatur, „taporberend mid pyle folʒiʒe“. De C. M. 418, 11.

duobus accolitis, „twām taporberendum“ (-bernendum MS.). Ibid. 424, 4.

accoluthus g. cerarius ad recitandum evangelium, „accoluthus (acculu' Ms.) *on crēcisc (crec'* MS.) *wæxbiorende“.* D. Rit. 195, 9.

§ 172. The office of acolyte is described as follows:

Acolitus is ʒecweden sē ðe cándele oððe tapor byrð tō ʒodes þēnungum, ðonne mann godspell rǣt, oððe ðonne man hālgað ðæt hūsl æt ðām wēofode. Ælfric's Canons. Th. p. 443.

nē sceal nān acolitus, ðæt is hūsl-þēn, forsecʒan nānne subdīacon . . . and nelle wē nā ðæt man ʒewǣʒniʒe subdīacon nē hūsl-þēn. Ecg.'s Confess. Th. p. 361.

§ 173. 11) The Lat. *„exorcista“,* the exorcist, is unchanged in O. E.: *'sē exorcista'.*

At the same time, however, we find in the same sense the interesting native terms *hālsere* (O. H. G. *heilisari, „aruspex“*), or *hālsiʒend*; respectively *hǣlsere, hǣlsiʒend,* employed, on the origin and fundamental meaning of which vid. § 79 n.

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[1]) Apparently formed on the analogy of such compounds as *wēofod-þegn,* etc.; for I have been unable to find a church-Lat. *„minister eucharistiae“.*

We should note likewise the derivative substantives *hālsung,* 'supplication', 'exorcism', 'augury', and the verb *hālsian,* conjure', 'supplicate'.

Examples.

exorcista is on Englisc sē ðe mid āðe hālsað („conjures") ðā āwyrgedan ʒāstas ðe willað menn dreccan. Ælfric's Canons. Th. p. 443.

exorcista, hālsere. Ecg.'s Confess. Th. p. 361.

Exorcista is hālsiʒend sē ðe rǣt ofer ðā wit-sēocan men, and ðā untruman. Ælfric's Past. Th. p. 458 (sole example).

Aruspicum . . hǣlsera. Wr. W. 342, 40.

Augur, hǣlsere (8th Cent.). Wr. W. 8, 5.

&c.

Ic hālsiʒe and bidde þone ʒelǣredan. Prologue to Gū.

Ic hālsiʒe ðē þurh þone lifiendan God, „adjuro te". Mt. 26, 63.

Etc.

ecclesiastico exorcismo, „on circlīcere hālsunge" (Gloss: *adjuratione, obsecratione, benedictione*). Bout. Ald. to Giles p. 57.[1]) Cf. Bos. Toll. for many further examples.

Lat. *oratio* = *hālsung* occurs, so far as I know, only Bede 186, 17:

sē mæssepreōst orationem rǣdde, „the priest read an exorcism".

§ 174. 12. Lat. *„lector",* the reader, is rendered literally by *rǣdere.*

The vb. *rǣdan* signifies to advise, to take counsel, as well as to read, and is inflected both strong (past *rēord*) and weak (past *rǣdde*):

Lector is rǣdere ðē rǣd on ʒodes cyrcan. Ælfric's Canons. Th. p. 443.

[*nē sceal*] *nān duru-wérd nānne rǣdere* [*forsecgan*]. Con. Ecg. Th. p. 361.

Etc.

The following passage contains the feminine form:

sēo rǣdestre and þā pēningmen gān on foreweárdum mid taporum. Reg. Con. Zup. Cf. also Bos. Toll.

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1) [Cp. Napier, Old Engl. Gloss. 4083.]

§ 175. 13. The *„ostiarius“*, or doorkeeper, was known in O. E. as the 'door-ward', *sē duru-wéard*:

Ostiarius is duru-wéard sē ðe circan cǣʒan healt. Ælfric's Past. Th. p. 458.

Similarly in Ælfric's Can. Th. p. 443.

ne sceal nān acolitus .. forsecʒan nānne subdīacon, .. nē nān duru-wérd nānne rǣdere mid nānre wrohte . . ., „non licet ostiario . .“. Ecg.'s Confess. Th. p. 361. Cf. also Bos. Toll.

§ 176. 14. The office of sexton did not form an independent ecclesiastical order, but was administered either by the 'presbyter' or by some other cleric (vid. Du Cange, „Custos“).

The sexton was denominated in O. E., in accord with the general character of his office, *sē ciric-wéard,* i. e. „churchward“ or guardian of the church:

ðā ēode sē bisceop intō þǣre ōðre cyrcan .. and befrān ðone cyrc-wéard hwǣr þæs hālgan wǣpnu wǣron. Hom. I, 452.

þā sǣde sē cnapa þām cyrcwérde þæt. Lives XXI, 163.

Æðelstān, cyric wýrd, fēng tō þām abbodrīce æt Abbandūne. Chron. (C), Anno 1044.

Etc., etc.

§ 177. In conclusion, the names of those ecclesiastical officials who conducted the singing during divine service must be mentioned; I refer to the *„cantores“* and their leader, the *„archicantator“*, in O. E. *„ðā sóngeras“* and *„sē hēahsóngere“* (rarely *sē cantor, cantere,* from the Lat.), from *„sóngere“*, a singer:

būton Iacobe ðǣm sóngere. Bede 258, 27.

sē bisceop dā ðǣr ʒesette gōde sángeras and mæsseprēostas and manigféaldlīce ciricean þeʒnas. Blick. Hom. 207, 31.

nū sceole wē héaldan ūrne palm, oþ ðæt sē sángere onginne ðone offring-sáng. Hom. I, 218.

Similar: Ibid. I, 508. De C. M. 409, 7. Reg. Con. Zup. 26.

sē ārwýrða wer Iohannes, Sce Petres cirican ðæs apostolis hēahsóngere. Bede 314, 2 (only example of *hēah-sóngere*).

For *sángere* = poet, vid. Bos. Toll.

Cantere and *cantor* occur but once each:

a cantore ilico inchoetur antephona, „fram cantore“. De C.M. 428, 12.

onginne sē cantor 'alleluia' . . and ðone sealm þǣrtō. Ælfric's Can. 36.

The Transition to Monastic Clergy.

The Canons.

§ 178. The canons occupy a sort of intermediate position between the clergy proper and the monastic clergy, since they lived, on the one hand, according to a special Rule (*'Canonici regulares'*), or according to the canons of the Church (*'Canonici seculares'*); while, on the other hand, they were at the same time subject to the oversight and discipline of the bishop, and carried on the work of their ministry at his cathedral.

The canon is called in O. E. usually *sē cānōnic,* although quite often the general term *prēost* is applied to this office; cf. *prēost* d) § 107.[1])

§ 179. On the part of the female clericals, the *„sanctimoniales“,* O. E. *ðā nunnan* (Mod. Eng. *nuns*), corresponded to the canons; for they, too, conformed to canonical rules, and consequently did not properly speaking coincide with the *„monachae“* or 'female monks'. These latter the Anglo-Saxons called, after Lat. *monacha, mynecena* (Cf. Germ. *Mönchinnen*), sing. *sēo mynecenu*; cf. § 201.

The fact, however, should be noted that the official distinction between the *„monacha“* and the *„sanctimonialis“* was strictly observed neither in Lat. nor in O. E. Thus e. g. Bede 340, 1 et seq.:

wæs in þǣm seolfan mynstre sumu hāligu nunne þǣre noma wæs Begu sēo wæs Drihtne gehālgad in clǣnum mægðhāde mā þonne þrītig wintra; and hēo þǣr in munuchāde Drihtne þēowade.

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[1]) The later form *„canon“* is not found in genuine O. E. texts, although it occurs in early 12th Century Transition Engl. Cf. *Lēowine sē canon.* Earle, Land Ch. p. 261 (about A. D. 1135).

The earliest instance of the use of the word in Eng., as given by the Oxf. Dict., is from Layamon (1205).

On the derivation of O. E. *nunne* from Lat. *nonna* through the Romance, vid. Pogatscher, § 167.

Note. For the difference between nuns and female monks, the reader is referred to the excellent article in Schmidt's „Glossar".

One slight error, however, occurs there that, I think, deserves notice.

The assertion (Art. '*mynecen*') that in attacks against their chastity always nuns, never female monks, are referred to („immer nur von Nonnen, nicht von Mönchinnen"), is not quite true; as will be clear from the following passages:

„Ʒif hwā hǣme wið mynecyne, Si quis fornicatus fuerit cum monacha." Poen. Ecgb. IV, 9. Vid. also ibid. IV, 10 (very similar); IV; and III, 11.

These passages, it is true, make allusion only to sexual intercourse, not to violation by force; but, nevertheless, they make it clear that, in spite of their advanced age (at least sixty years, according to Schmidt!), the chastity even of the „mynecena" or female monks had to be looked after, — a fact that Schmidt apparently denies.

§ 180. **Examples.**

Ʒodes þēowas: biscopas and abbodas, munecas and mynecena, cānōnicas and nunnan. Æthelr. VI, 2. Similar: ibid. V, 4:

Ʒodes þēowas: biscopas and abbudas, munecas and mynecena, prēostas and nunnan (*prēostas* = here *cānōnicas*; vid. § 107).

nā þæt ān be munecum ānum is þis tō héaldenne, ac ēac swylce be ārwýrðum cānōnicum. Ben. R. 111, 6.

canonico more, „æfter cānōnica þēawe". Reg. Con. Zup. 87, 106.

nāðer nē bisceop nē mæsseprēost, ne dīacon ne nān riht cānōnicus [*riht cānōnicus*, i. e. *„canonicus regularis"*]. Ælfric's Can. Th. p. 442. And *„þā cānōnicas".* Earle, Land-Chart. p. 264 (4 times).

And cānōnicas . . ðæt hȳ bēoddern and slǣpern habban magan. Æthelr. V, 7.

As an adjective, *cānōnic* is found but once = Lat. *canonicus, -a, -um*:

sē ðe tōbrecð ðā cānōnican ʒesetnysse. Hom. II, 96.

The same is true of *cānōneclīc, „canonicus"*:

Æfter cānōneclīcan ʒewunan. Canon. Hrs. 359, 8 (Bos. Toll.).

femina sanctimonialis, „sum æðele nunne". Bede, 288, 26.

Etc., etc.

§ 181. O. E. *nunne* serves, furthermore, in literature as translation of the Lat. *„virgo vestalis“*; thus Oros 162, 31:

Caperronie wæs hātenu heora goda nunne, „Caparonia, virgo vestalis“. Similar to this is also the passage ibid. 108, 16.

Cf. similar developments in the case of *dīacon, biscop,* etc.; and note the explanations given in § 156.

The Monastic Clergy.

Evolution from Hermit-life.

§ 182. Monasticism owes its origin and existence to no sudden religious movement, but is the result of a gradual development. Its germ must be sought in the oriental hermit-life of the fourth century.

At this time the cessation of persecutions had dealt the death-blow to the stern discipline of the early Christians. Men were becoming ennervated and effeminate. The old ideals — the Cross and the Crown — were neglected. Zeal had grown cold.

Yet, in the midst of all this falling away and decay, there were not wanting pious souls to bemoan the loss of ancient virtues; and to many it seemed that a solitary life of self-denial far removed from the rush and turmoil of the world might afford the only means of appeasing the wrath of an angry deity.

Such was the origin of hermit-life, of whose further history, however, as well as that of monasticism nothing additional need here be said. I shall merely refer the reader to the exhaustive review of the subject contained in the „Encyclopaedia Brittanica“, art. „Monachism“.

The Hermit.

Lat. *„eremita“, „anachoreta“,* are rendered in O. E. by the following expressions:

§ 183. 1. *āncor, āncer, āncora, āncra,* — found mostly in compounds: *āncor-, āncer-* — and sometimes with short initial vowel: *oncra.*

Of the O. E. translations of *„eremita“* this is the most usual.

The most notable feature of *āncor* is the length of the *a*; for we should expect only the forms *ancor* or *oncor* — i. e. with a short vowel.

But, if we compare *āncor* with the corresponding O. H. G. and O. S. representatives of Lat. *„anachoreta"*, the phenomenon at once becomes explicable; these are found to be *einchorano* and *ênkoro*, respectively.

A comparison of the three prefixes demonstrates clearly that in the forms *āncor, einchorano,* and *ênkoro* we have no phonologically correct representations of the Latin prototype, but forms considerably modified by popular misconceptions. For the history of this modification we must turn to the English form, of which the O. H. G. and O. S. are but adaptations.

As we see by the North. *sē oncra,* the first syllable of O. E. *āncor* was originally short; but being popularly associated with the native numeral prefix *ān-,* 'one', 'alone' (as in *ān-būend, ān-génga,* etc.), it became lengthened, and *ancor* was conceived of as *ān-cor,* 'one dwelling alone' i. e. a hermit.

Of course, *āncor* and its allied forms *einchorano, ênkoro,* cannot be considered as Common West-Germ. borrowings, since popular confusion of the first syllable of *anachoreta* with Germanic *ain-* would be possible only in O. E., where *ain-* becomes *ān.* Subsequently, the Anglo-Saxon missionaries adapted *āncor* to the O. H. G. and O. S. as *einchorano* and *ênkoro.*

Note 1. The length of the *a* in *āncor, āncra* is testified beyond a doubt by Bede, who writes: *aancoran.* 100, 20. *aáncorstōwe.* 424, 12. *áncerlīfes.* 364, 30. *áncorliif.* 412, 18.

An additional evidence is the almost total absence in the oldest monuments of the form *oncra,* which we naturally expect in early O. E. The only example known to me is from Lind. Jo. p. 188, 4; Cart. Sax. No. 631: *billfrið sē oncræ.*

Vid. in conclusion Pogatscher's deduction of *āncra* from the M. E. *ăncre* of the Ancren Riwle; Eng. Stud. XXVII, p. 220.

Note 2. In a recent article (Engl. Stud. Vol. XXVII, p. 220 et seq.), Pogatscher expresses the conviction that *āncor* etc. is not a popular, but a learned borrowing. This he concludes from the fact that in the Romance languages there is no trace of a popular development of anachoreta; and he finds in the long *a* of *āncra* additional support for his theory. The O. E. confusion with *ān,* one, he very skillfully explains as „erst eine Folge der in gelehrten Entlehnungen gewöhnlichen Dehnung".

The cogency of this argument is to be immediately admitted; however, there are two considerations which would seem to throw much doubt upon its validity. In the first place, the theory of Pogatscher fails to account for the short form *ancra, oncra.*

And secondly, the remarkable contraction of *anachoreta* > *ăncra, ăncor* points to a popular, and not a learned source. This latter difficulty Pogatscher himself admits. I think, also, that his argument is hardly strengthened by the citation of the 11th Century *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον anacorsetl* (Wr. W.).

Examples.

þā cwōmon hēo ǣrest tō sumum aancoran, „ad quendam virum sanctum . . . . qui anachoreticam ducere vitam solebat“. Bede 100, 20.

āncorlīf, „Hermit-life“. Bede 218, 8.

āncerlīf. Bede 364, 30. Hom. II, 142, 146; etc. in composition.

anachoreta, ancra. Ælfric, Wr. W. 155, 35. 308, 8.

Levitonarium, „slēflēas āncra scrūd“. Ælfric, Wr. W. 151, 36.

Etc., etc.

The form *āncer* is from Wulfstan:

dēofol ðām āncre sǣde. 214, 21. *ān hālig āncer.* 214, 23. *ðām āncre.* 214, 25.

§ 184. 2. *ān-setla,* Ger. *Einsiedler.*

So Ben. R. 134, 22. 135, 3; etc.

This form, as well as 4), are evidently direct imitations of Gr.-Lat. *ana-choreta,* Lat. *solitarius.*

§ 185. 3. The mixed form *āncer-setla,* wm., probably only a secondary development from *āncer-setl* n., „hermitage“:

āncersetlena drohtnung, „the life of hermits“. Hom. I, 544, 26 and ibid. 546, 1.

anachoreseos (gloss *„heremi“*), *ancersetlan.* Bout. Ald. Giles p. 35.[1])

§ 186. 4. *ān-būend,* „dwelling alone“, poetical, and found only once; viz., in the gen. plur. *ān-būendra,* used as a designation of pious eremites, Gū. 59.

§ 187. 5. *wēsten-setla,* wm., a literal translation of *„eremita“* (*„eremus“* = O. E. *wēsten,* a desert):

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[1]) [Cp. Napier, Old Engl. Gloss. 2517. 3638.]

Eremita, wēstensetla. Ælfric. Wr. W. 155, 34.

Another form of the word is *wēsten-seda,* which is apparently a scribal error for *wēsten-sedla:*

„*eremita* (gl. *anachoreta*). *wēstenseda*". Bout. Ald. gloss to Giles p. 34: „*Joannem* . . *heremitam*".[1])

Both of these forms occur but once and in a gloss; so that we may, perhaps, consider them only as explanatory renderings, and not as the customary O. E. equivalents of the Latin.

§ 188. The dwelling-place of the hermit, his hermitage, was called in O. E., —

āncor-setl n. (*āncer-*), Hom. II, 152, 4, etc. (*setl* = *'sedes'*).

āncor-stōw f., from *stōw,* place, *'sedes'*:
in dȳgle aáncorstōwe. Bede 424, 12.

ān-setl n., 'solitary abode', 'hermitage':
ānsetles wunung, „*solitarii sedere desiderant*". Ben. R. 135, 9 (F).

The compound *āncor-līf* was employed to designate the lonely life of the hermit, *'anachoretica vita'*:
tō āncorlīfe, „*ad eremiticam vitam*". Bede 218, 11.
āncerlīf. Ibid. 364, 30, etc.; similarly, Hom. II, 142, 146.

The Abbot.

§ 189. Lat. *abbas, abbatis,* appears in O. E. as *abbod, abbud* (*abbad*), and the rare, and certainly very late, weak form *abboda, -an.* Cf. O. H. G. *abbat,* O. N. *abote, abbate.*[2])

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[1]) [Cp. Napier, Old Engl. Gloss. 2503 *heremitam,* .i. *anachoretam, wēstensetla.*]

[2]) The form with *t* — *abbot* — in M. E. quite common, is not exemplified for O. E. with absolute certainty. True, Ben. R. Log. (MS. dating from the beginning of the 11th Cent.) 100, 16 reads: *ðām abbote,* „*abbati*"; so also ibid. 103, 6. 110, 1, 6. But these isolated cases can easily have originated from the careless pen of the very disreputable copyist of this MS.; for, as Logeman shows, he was frequently misled in other cases by the Latin words of the gloss. Cf. Log. The only other example of *abbot* I have been able to find in O. E. occurs in a genuine document of the year 1035: *Cnut cýngc grēt . . . Ælfstān abbod.* Earle, Land Ch. p. 237; *abbot* Cod. Dipl. No. 1325.

Whether this example is to be ascribed to a mere scribal blunder, or considered as genuine, cannot, of course, be determined.

As the medial *d* in *abbud* shows, the O. E. term was not taken directly from the Latin, but from a Romance source; see the Oxf. Dict., art. '*abbot*', and Pogatscher, §§ 74, 184, 292, 311, 319, 373.

It is scarcely necessary to give examples of *abbod, abbud,* as the word occurs so frequently (see the O. E. dictionaries); this will, of course, not hold good for the rare weak form '*abboda*', examples of which occur only in quite late MSS. Kemble's Cod. Dipl. No. 922 (probably from the close of the 11th century) contains the only example of this form known to the writer:

ic ēode tō mīnen abboden Ælfwine (twice).

Note 1. Elsewhere in this monument the strong form *abbod* is frequently used.

Note 2. In the dictionary of Bos. Toll., the following sentence from Inst. Pol. Th. p. 430 is cited as the only instance of the weak form: *swā gebireð abbodan,* „as beseems an abbot". Of course this is an error, since this late plural ending of the dative *-an* is quite usual in both strong and weak nouns; cf. Sievers Gram.[2, 3] § 237, Anm. 6; § 293, Anm.

In making this correction I, of course, intend no reflection against so able a scholar as Prof. Toller; for, as I hear, he did not revise the first part of the old Bosworth at all.

§ 190. In the Ben. R., and elsewhere rarely, the abbot is quite often known as *sē éaldor* (not to be confused with *éaldor,* the dean of a monastery, mentioned below!) „the Elder", as translation of Lat. *prior* (i. e. the '*prior conventualis*', M. E. and Mod. E. '*prior*'):

prior, sē éaldor. Ben. R. Log. 70, 3 = *sē éalder,* Ben. R.

in arbitrio prioris, „on dōme éaldres". Ben. R. Log. 72, 8 = *on þæs abbodes dōme.* Ben. R., etc.

ðām munece ðē hē tō éaldre geset hæfde ofer þām mynstre . . ðā hī āwōcon, sē éaldor and his prōfost, „Patrem . . . atque ejus proposito. Hom. II, 172. Similarly, ibid. I, 318. De C. M. 439, 17.

priore abeunte . . subsequens abbas sapienter disponat, „ýldran gewītendum, sē æftra abbud". De C. M. 448, 7 et seqq.

§ 191. The abbot as archimandrite, or general abbot of a considerable number of monks, occurs only once in O. E.; cf. Bout. Ald. gloss to Giles p. 51:

archimandrita, hēhfæder vel lāreow: in Giles:[1]) *„quingentorum circiter monachorum archimandrita“*.

On the position of the archimandrite in the church, cf. Du Cange.

§ 192. From *abbod* and *éaldor* are derived, analogous to the other offices, the terms signifiyng dignity, office, of abbot, '*abbatia*', '*abbatis dignitas*'; viz.:

abbod-rīce (Chron. C, anno 1044, &c. &c.).

This term was quite probably used, also, of a convent of nuns in late O. E. cf. Chron. E, 963: *Hē macode þǣr twā abbot rīce, ān of muneca, ōðer of nunna,* „He created there two abbacies, one of monks, the other of nuns“.

abbod-hād: Munuc-hād and abbud-had sýndon on ōðre wīsan. Ælfric's Can. Th. p. 444.

abbod-dōm: Cūðfrið sē aarwýrða Chrīstes ðēow and mæssepreōst, sē ... in onwálde abbuddoomes fore wæs. Bede 384, 15; etc.

éaldor-scipe — otherwise in the sense of '*principatus*', '*auctoritas*', in general —

abbod ... sceal ..... þæs éaldorscipes noman mid dǣdum gefyllan. Ben. R. 10, 10.

§ 193. The prioress, Lat. *abbatissa,* is in O. E. *sēo abbudisse,* the fem. form. of *abbud.* Cf. O. N. *abbadis,* M. L. G. *abbadisse.*

Parallel forms are: *abbadisse, abbodisse, abbodysse, abbadysse, abbuddysse, abbudesse, abbodesse, abedisse, abbedesse, abbutisse.*

Note. Passages showing *t*-forms are: *abbudas and abbutissan.* De C. M. 368, 3. *abbutissena, abbatissarum.*

In view of what has been previously demonstrated (§ 189, foot-note), these *t*-forms may well be the result of mere confusion of letters due to careless copying.

A few examples.

hēo buu wǣron abbudissan in Brüge þām mynstre. Bede 172, 22.

ðā hēo abbudesse wæs. Bede 176, 3.

ðǣre abbudessan. Ibid. 176, 20. *ðǣre abbuddyssan.* Ibid. 176, 13.

abbadisse. Cart. Sax. No. 1304.

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[1]) Cp. Napier, Old Engl. Gloss. 3720 *archimandrita, .i. princeps ouium, hēhfæder, lāreow.*]

Híld abbodesse. Chron. A, anno 680; Similar, Chron. C, 982.

tō ðā abbedessan on Lēo mynstre. Chron. C, 1046.

betwīnon Eadgyfe abbedesse and Lēofrīce abbode. Cart. Sax. No. 1244.

§ 194. The conception of the prioress as the spiritual mother (*sēo mōdor*) and the abbot as father (*fæder*) was in O. E. a favorite one. Both these expressions, however, did not originate on English soil, but had long before existed in ecclesiastical Latin as '*pater monasterii*', '*mater monasterii*', respectively.

Examples.

Benedictus sē abbud ealra muneca fæder. Chron. F, anno 509.

abbas, abbod, oððe fæder. Wr. W. 307, 43.

þēm þe hȳ fæder nemnað, þæt is þǣm abbode, „in quem patrem vocant“. Ben. R. 137, 24 (F).

patres monasteriorum matresque, „fæderas mynstra and moddra“. De C. M. 373, 9.

sēo ārfæste mōdor ʒode þǣre lēofan ʒesomnunge, Æðelburg abbudisse. Bede 286, 28; Similarly, Ibid. 288, 2. 290, 27. Etc., etc.

§ 195. Next after the abbacy, the most important conventual office was that of provost, Latin '*praepositus*', *praelatus*'.

Here, again, we encounter both a native and a borrowed term in the O. E., the latter being in two forms; viz., *prāfost* (*prāfast, prāvost*) derived, as its form shows, through the Romance from Lat. *praepositus*, and *prōfost* (*prōfast*), in like manner derived from Lat. *propositus.*

Pogatscher (§ 108) observes: „die rein volkstümliche Form des Wortes [i. e. *prāfost*] deutet auf Vorhandensein in vorchristlicher Zeit hin“.

This view is strengthened by the fact that *prāfost* is used not only in a religious but, at times, also in a purely worldly sense, and translates Lat. *praefectus* (O. E. *ʒerēfa*). The passages showing this meaning are:

þā cōmun Israēla folces prāfostas, „venerunt praepositi filiorum Israel et vociferati sunt ad Pharonem“. Exod. Gr. 5, 15. Very similar, Ibid. 5, 19.

Valerianus Decies prāfest ðæs cāseres. Shrine 117, 12. *Valerianus sē prāvost.* 117, 16 (Bos. Toll.).

prepositus, gerēfa oððe prāfost. Wr. W. 309, 33.

The native term referred to above in the paraphrase *regol-wéard*, „guardian of the Rule", „provost", in reference to the disciplinary duties of that officer, from *„regol"*, the Benedictine Rule. On the history of O. E. *regol* < Lat. *regula* (dating probably from the continental period of O. E.), vid. Pogatscher § 103.

Examples of *regol-wéard* and of *prāfost* in the ecclesiastical sense:

þæs mynstres prōfost and regolwéard wæs in ðā tīd Boisel. . . Æfter ðon . . wæs Cūðberht ðæs ilcan mynstres regolwéard gewórden: „cui tempore illo praepositus Boisel fuit. . . Postquam Cudberct eidem monasterio factus est praepositus". Bede 360, 32.

þurh hādunge prāfostes, „per ordinationem prepositi". Ben. R. Log. 109, 12.

sē éaldor and his prōfost, „the abbot and his provost". Hom. II, 172, 18.

Vid Bos. Toll. for further illustrations.

§ 196. The office of provost, *„praepositura"*, is denoted either by *prāfost-folgoð* m., from *folgoð* 'following', 'retinue'; whence the sense 'service', 'office', — or by *prāfost-scīr* f., from *scīr 'provincia', 'officium'*:

hē sȳ āworpen of þām prāfostfolgoþe, „deiciatur de ordine praepositurae". Ben. R. 126, 5. = Ben. R. Log. *prāvost-scīr.*

The Dean.

§ 197. By the Lat. *decanus* is denoted, according to Du Cange, *„in monasterio qui decem monachis, seu Decaniae monachorum praeerat".*

'Decanus' corresponds precisely to O. E. *tēoðing-éaldor,* „Tithing-Elder", a term which, originally, must have been applied to the officer who presided over a secular Tenth (according to an institution of the A.-S. state), *'decanus'*, —

and which was not, until later, in Christian times, transferred to the monasterial officer.

mynstres tēoþingéaldras, „de decanis monasterii“. Ben. R. 7, 1

sȳn ʒesette tō tēoðingéaldrum, „constituantur decani“. Ben. R. 46, 10.

Frequently this is abbreviated into the simple *éaldor, „princeps praepositus“* (= also abbot!):

ðā éaldras, decani. Ben. R. 46, 12; etc.[1])

§ 198. In addition to *tēoðing-éaldor,* but occurring only in the ecclesiastical sense, we have the borrowed term *decan,* occasionally in the Latin form *decanus* with now and then a Lat. inflexion.

Both of these foreign vocables are found rather rarely — especially the latter — and in late O. E.

They occur in the following passages:

a decanis, „fram decanum“. Ben. R. Log. 104, 3.

ðet wes Boia ðe éalde and Ælvrīc decan. . . . ʒodwine decan and manœga ōðre mid him. Cod. Dipl. No. 922 (very late O. E.).

a decano, „fram decane“. De C. M. 414, 7.

qui totius claustri sub decano curam gerat, „únder þām decane“. De C. M. 433, 16.

Æfic sē œðela decanus. Chron. C 1037.

Æðelnoð munuc sē þe wœs decanus œt Crīstes cyrcan. Chron. D 1020.

heora decanus. Ben. R. Log. 110, 16.

þurh þone decanum. Ben. R. 125, 8 (F).

Note. The queer form '*decanonas*' plur. (*þurh decanonas, „per decanos“.* Ben. R. 125, 8), waiving the possibility of a mere scribal error, probably originated through popular confusion with '*canon*'.

§ 199. The office of dean is *decan-hād,* „dean-hood“, — or, with more extended application, *éaldorscipe, 'praepositura', 'auctoritas', 'decania'.*

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[1]) It should be noted that *éaldor,* in Ben. R., is used, finally, to denote any elderly monk, elderly monks in general, — Lat. '*seniores*', '*priores*' (Ben. R. Log. 116 et seqq., etc.).

decania, decanhād. Ben. R. Log. 54, 2. = *éaldorscype,* Ben. R. *super decanias suas, „embe heora éaldorscypas“.* Ben. R. 46, 11.

§ 200. The monk, *„monachus“*, is in O. E. *munuc* (*munec*) str. m., probably borrowed in pre-Christian times (5th Cent.) from a Romance source (Pogatscher § 165).

The suffix *-uc,* instead of the expected *-ic* (*monicus*), is probably the result of suffix-transfer, as in *clēroc* and other words (Pog. § 234).

Note. Kluge in Grd.[2] I, p. 341 derives O. E. *munuc* from a form *monacus,* and the O. H. G. and O. S. terms (*munih, munik*) from the Rom. *monicus.*

In O. H. G. we have as corresponding vocable the term *munich.* O. N. *munkr* was, according to Kahle (p. 13), taken from the O. E.

Passages illustrating *munuc* need scarcely be cited as the word is of such frequent occurrence.

§ 201. Lat. *monacha,* „nun“, appears in O. E. as the feminine of *munuc, sēo mynecenu* (variant forms: *mynecynu, minicenu,* and weak *mynecene -an*). Cf. sub *'canonicus'* for the official distinction between O. E. *mynecenu* and *nunne, 'sanctimonialis',* and for the frequent confusion of the two expressions.

Examples.

monacha vel monialis, „mynecenu“. Ælfric, Wr. W. 155, 26, with which compare 155, 36: *Nonna, „ārwurðe wudewe vel nunne“.*

non solum monachos verum sanctimoniales etiam, „nā þan munecas ac ēac mynecyna“. De C. M. 366, 7.

Riht is ðæt mynecena mynsterlīce macian efne swā wē cwǣdon ǣror be munecan. . . riht is ðæt prēostas and efen wēl nunnan regollīce libban. Inst. Pol. Th. p. 431.

Etc.

The well-known conception of the nun as the Bride of Christ is also present in O. E. Thus Ecg.'s Poen. Th. p. 370 reads:

Ʒif hwā mynecene, ðe Ʒodes brȳd bið ʒehāten, him tō wīfe nimđ, bēo hēo āmānsumad.

Cf. also Bl. 61: *mid þǣm mannum þe bēod Crīste tō brȳdum ʒehālgode.*

Etc.

§ 202. The probationer, or novice, Lat. *'novitius'*, is termed in the Ben. R. a „new-comer", O. E. *'nīw-cumen man'* (*nīʒ-*, *nī-*). Ben. R. 97, 11. 99, 3.

nīʒecumen brōðor, „frater novitius". Ben. R. 97, 2. 101, 15.

sē nīcumena brōðor, „ipse frater novitius". Ben. R. Log. 98, 6.

sē nīcumena, „ille novitius". Ben. R. Log. 97, 17. 98, 2.

In the same sense, likewise, the present part., *nīw-cumend*: *in cella novitiorum, „on hūse nīcumendra"*. Ben. R. Log. 96,2.

There are no instances of the use of novice, feminine, Lat. *'novitia'*, in genuine O. E.; yet, undoubtedly, the same O. E. expression — *'nīw-cumen man'* — must have been used to denote the female probationer, as the following passages from the Early M. E. version of the Ben. R. prove:

Be þām nīwan swustram, „de disciplina suscipiendarum Sororum". 'Winteney Version der Regula S. Benedicti', p. 115, 20 (Arnold Schröer, Halle, 1888).

in cella novitiarum, „on nīcumenre manne hūse". Ibid. 115, 30; and similarly 117, 13.

The compound *léorning-mon.* which we have formerly met only in the sense of 'disciple' (§ 59), occurs in Bede in a single passage to signify a female novice: *in þǣm* [*mynstre*] *sēo ʒemyngade cyninges dohtor* [i. e. *Ælflæd*] *ǣrest wæs discipula & léornungmon regollīces līfes, ond eft æfter ðon wæs magister & lāreow þæs mynstres.* Bede 236, 33 et seqq. (Lat., *„primo discipula regularis vitae"*).

§ 203. Monkhood, the monastic state — *'habitus monachius'* — was termed correspondingly by the Anglo-Saxon *munuc-hād,* a word embracing the condition of monastics of both sexes:

sēo ǣrest wiifa is sæʒd in Nórðanhýmbra mǣʒðe ðæt hēo munuchāde . . . . onfēnge. Bede 332, 25.

ðā ðe clērichādes sýnd and munuchādes wilniað. Ben. R. 107, 13.

Etc.

§ 204. Expressions relating to the consecration of monks and nuns.

'To become a monk' is denoted in O. E. either by the simple literal rendition *'munuc weorðan'*, or by the phrase already noted (vid. „take orders", „become a clergyman", § 123, n. 1) *'sceare onfōn'*, 'to receive the tonsure'.

The transitive notion „to make, consecrate, a monk", is expressed in the customary fashion by *'munuc* (resp. *'tō munuce'*) *gehādian, gehālgian'*; or the verbal derivative of *munuc*, viz. *munecian* is employed. Cf. *biscopian*, § 151.

hē [Cēnrēd] cōm tō Rōme and þǣr scīre onfēng and munuc wæs gewórden. Bede 448, 23; similar: ibid. 450, 8.

hē hine mōt munecian, „se monachum potest facere". Ecg.'s Confess. 27 (only example).

Concerning the consecration of nuns, we have to record, in addition to the corresponding phrase *'tō mynecene gehādian, gehālgian'* (Lives XX, 35 et seq., etc.), only the well-known expression 'to take the veil', in O. E. *'hālig-refte onfōn'*, from *hālig-reft* (*-rift*) str. n. 'holy veil'.

The Lat. *'velamen monialium'* was thus not literally rendered by the Eng.

The combination *'hālig wrigels'* 'holy veil', from *wrigels*, *'velum'*, *'velamen'* was likewise known:

mid þǣm mannum ðē bēoð Crīste tō brȳdum gehālgode, seoððan hī mon mid þǣm hālgan wrigelse bewrīhð. Blick. 61.

Illustrations of the use of *hālig-reft*:

hēo þǣr hāligrefte onfēng and Godes þēowhāde, „accepto velamine sancti monialis habitus". Bede 318, 8.

Effigenia . . . is þæs heofonlīcan cýnges brȳd, and mid hālig refte gehālgod. Hom. II, 476, 32.

Matheus þā . . lēde hālig reft ofer hire hēafod and ofer ealra þǣra mǣdena hēafdu. Hom. II, 478, 5.

Sca hýlda wæs XXXIII ȝēara on lǣwedum hāde and XXXIII ȝēara únder hālig ryfte: „St. Hilda was 33 years under the veil"; i. e. was a nun for that period. Shrine 149, 5.

Monastic Orders.

§ 205. St. Benedict distinguishes four classes of monks in his Rule; viz.

1) Cenobites (*coenobitae*) or cloister monks proper (Grk. *κοινός* denotes 'in common'), known in O. E. as *mynster-men*, 'cloister folk', or as *mynster-munucas*, 'cloister monks', as distinguished from the other monkish orders.

For mynster (O. H. G. *munustiri*) from **monsterjo, monasterium*, vid. Pog. § 39, and cf. Kluge's Wörterbuch, art. *'Münster'*.

The meaning 'cloister folk' is likewise shared by the corresponding O. N. expression *Klaustra-maþr*, plur. *Klaustramenn*. Vid. Kahle p. 34.

2) Anchorets or hermits (*anachoretae*). Vid. § 182 et seq.

3) The Sarabaites (*Sarabaitae*), — *„monachi, qui nulla regula approbati, adhuc operibus servantes seculo fidem, mentiri Deo per tonsuram noscuntur"*. Du Cange.

The idea of the Sarabaite is paraphrased in O. E. by the compound *sylf-dēma,* i. e. 'Self-judge'.

4) The *'gyrovagi'* — vagrant or strolling monks, in O. E. *wīd-scriþul,* from *wīd,* 'wide', 'far and wide', and the adj. *scriþul,* 'fond of roaming', which belongs to the same root as the verb O. E. *scrīđan,* German *'schreiten',* 'to advance', 'to move forward'. This class of monastics, says the author of the Benedictine Rule, „is in all respects worse than even the Sarabaites"! (Ben. R. 10, 1. Ben. R. Log. 10, 15 et seq.).

Examples.

§ 206. *mynster-mon: Fēower synt muneca cyn. Đæt forme is mynstermonna, þæt is þāra đe únder regule and abbodes tǣcincge on ȝecampe wuniađ.* Ben. R. 9, 1 et seqq.

Mynster-mannum ȝedafenađ đæt hī on stilnysse heora līf ādrēogan. Hom. II, 342, 29,

Be mynstermonna hræglhūse, „de vestiario fratrum“. Ben. R. 8, 10.

Etc.

Note. With *mynster-mon* compare the rare compound *mynster-fǣmne*, 'cloister woman', 'cloister virgin' (for the use of *fǣmne* cf. § 34, n. 1), found Bede 18, 18: *on þām ylcan mynstre sum lȳtel sweltende cniht be naman genemde ðā mynsterfǣmnan ðē him æfterfyligende wes.*

mynster-munuc: þā mynstermunecas úrnon tō, „currentes fratres“. Hom. II, 176. Similar, II, 178. I, 532.

and nē ðearf ǣnig mynstermunuc . . fǣhðbōte biddan. Æthelr. VIII, 25; and the same Cn. I, 5, § 2[d], *'monachus ecclesiasticus'.*

The anchoret: *Ōþer cyn is āncrena, þæt is wēstensetlena.* Ben. R. 9, 5.

The „Self-judge“, or Sarabaite, *'sylf-dēma': þrīdde cyn is muneca ealra atelucost, sylf-dēmena.* Ben. R. 9, 10.

The *wīd-scriðul: þæt fēorðe muneca cyn is, þē is wīdscriþul genæmned, þā ealle heora līflāde geónd missenlīce þēoda farað and twām and þrīm dagum geónd missenlīcra monna hūsum wuniað, ǣfre unstaþolfæste and woriende . . .; on eallum ðíngum hīe synt wyrsan þænne þā sylfedēman, þē on ānre wununge stilnesse héaldað.* Ben. R. 9, 20 et seqq.

§ 207. There yet remain two monasterial offices undesignated; viz.

1) The convent steward and treasurer, the *'cellarius'*, in O. E. *sē hórdere* (*hórd* = 'treasure', Mod. Eng. *'hoard'*):

sē hórdere. Hom. II, 178, 22 & 32. Ben. R. Log. 61, 4. Ben. R., etc.

2) The *'portarius'*, or gate-keeper, —

sē geat-wéard, Ben. R. Log. 112, 7. Ben. R., etc.

General Terms
Applied to the Monastic Clergy and Congregations.

§ 208. In every age it has been the custom to conceive the monks and nuns as „Brothers“ and „Sisters“ of a spiritual family. As in general, so also among the Anglo-Saxons. The

„fratres“ and *„sorores“* of the ecclesiastical language of their evangelizers were rendered by them, in literal simplicity, *„ðā (ʒe-)brōðor (-ra, -ru, -ro)“, „ðā swēostor (-tra, -tru)“*, — terms that herotofore had referred exclusively to blood-relationships:

„Professus sum monachum et psallam omni die septem sinaxes cum fratribus“, „. . . mid ʒebrōðrum“. Ælfric's Colloq. Wr. W. 90, 4.

wē ʒeacsodon fram ðām brōðrum ðæs mynstres, „a fratribus monasterii“. Bede 4, 17.

ðā atēawde sweoster wúndorlīc ʒesyhð, þǣre noma wæs Torhtgyð. Bede 286, 30.

eal sēo ʒesomnung brōðra and sweostra on twā healfe síngende ýmbstōdon. Bede 320, 32.

Etc., etc.

§ 209. The congregation as a whole, consisting either of brothers or sisters, or of both combined, was denominated as follows:

1) *ðā hīwan, hīʒan* (sing. is lacking), 'the members of a family collectively', *'familia'*; then 'inmates of a cloister' (for *'hīwan'* = 'clergy', vid. § 121) — very frequent:

cunctis fratribus ac sororibus, eallum þām hīʒum. Bede 174, 24.

Of 'brothers' only, e. g. Bede 182, 19: *ðā hīwan him ðē in ðǣm mynstre wǣron.* Etc., etc.

§ 210. 2) *hī-red,* masc., *'familia'* (vid. also 'Clergy', § 121). Cf. O. H. G. *hî-rât, 'connubium'*, Mod. Ger. *'Heirat'*.

þonne brake hē his ofer Godes sit and .. ealles þæs hīredes þē on þān mynstre sȳ. Cart. Sax. No. 917.

frīone hīrēd, 'a free monastic congregation, or community'. Ælfred's 'Gesetze', 2. Etc. in Schmidt.

§ 211. 3) *hī-rǣden (hīw-),* fem., *'familia'*; — rather rare in a religious sense:

for bēnum abbodes and ðǣre hēorǣdene æt Berclea. Chart. Th. 129, 30 (Bos. Toll.)

§ 212. 4) *ðæt ʒefēr* str. masc.

The sense is, properly, 'society', — literally, 'that which accompanies one on a journey', 'company', '*comitatus*', from the verb O. E. *ʒefaran*, 'to fare', 'to journey'.

In the Ben. R., the term occurs in reference to the conventual '*congregatio*', '*conventus*':

Be ealles ʒefēres éndebýrdnysse, de ordine congregationis. Ben. R. 113, 20.

an mētineʒe þēah ðæs ʒefēres, in conventu tamen. Ibid. 46, 2; etc.

§ 213. 5) Rarely, and in the same sense, *ʒefēr-scipe*, a word denoting properly 'society' in general:

si tanta fuerit cohors societatis (sc. *monasterii*), „. . *ʒefēr-scipes*". De C. M. 423, 5.

§ 214. 6) *ʒefēr-rǣden* str. fem., '*congregatio*', from *ʒefēr* (see above) and *rǣden*, '*conditio*', 'state of being'. Vid. § 30.

7) *ʒesomnung* fem., 'assembly', has already (§ 28) been fully treated.

§ 215. 8) *framscipe* masc. (very rare), properly 'a fraternal society united for a common interest', a fraternity; O. E. *fremman*, O. N. *frama*, Ger. *frommen*, 'to aid', 'to further'.

from þyssa munuca framscype tō lǣrenne Crīstes ʒelēafan ángelþēode wæs sénded Aidan sē biscop, „*ab horum collegio monachorum*". Bede, 160, 6 et seqq.

§ 216. 9) *ʒaderung, ʒeʒaderung*, fem.

a) The fundamental sense of the word is 'joint' or 'joining', '*compages*', '*junctura*'; from the verb *ʒaderian*, properly 'to join together' (Mod. Engl. '*gather*', Ger. '*gatten*'). The stem *gad-* is in the same gradation-series as O. E. *gōd*, 'good' — properly 'that which is fitting'; cf. Kluge's 'Wörterbuch', and Skeat.

Thus Wr. W. 207, 28: *compagem, juncturam vel ʒeʒaderung.*
And ibid. 381, 39: *copulas, ʒeʒaderunga.*

Out of this primitive sense was developed quite a number of derived meanings, in which, however, the original idea of 'belonging together', of 'suitability' is never entirely lost. Thus we have

b) *gegaderung* = *'concio'*, 'assembly', in general, or 'collection of objects':

congregatio, concio, gegaderung. (Gloss of the 10/11th cent.) Wr. W. 170, 39. 309, 40. Etc.

Hēr onginð sēo gadorung ðǣre blōstmena þǣre æftran bēc. Blooms 349, 22.

Then, modified by the influence of Christianity:

c) Synonym of the Jewish synagogue:

Sinagoga, gegaderung. Ælfric, Wr. W. 107, 21.

This is the only passage showing *gegaderung* in this sense.

d) For *'ecclesia'*, the Christian Church. Vid. § 31.

e) As a designation of a cloister community or congregation.

The Ben. R. Log. shows, especially, a preference for *gegaderung*, as compared with the Ben. R. which never uses this term (cf. *gefēr, gefēr-rǣden*, § 212, 214):

congregatio, gegæderung. Ben. R. Log. 53, 16, etc. etc. Similar: De C. M. 422, 7.

convocet abbas omnem congregationem, „gelángige sē abbod ealle gegæderunge“. Ben. R. Log. 17, 13.

§ 217. 10) The compound *munuc-regol,* which properly denotes the monastic Rule, may also by a metonymy designate the order of monks living under the Rule. Cf. Earle, Land Ch. p. 219 (A. D. 1002):

ic geann intō ǣlcum munucregole .I. *púnd,* „I grant to every monastic order one pound“.

This is my only example of the above.

§ 218. The Conventual Chapter.

The general assembly of the Brothers or Sisters, held at certain fixed seasons, — the conventual chapter (so called because for the general edification a chapter was read aloud on such occasions) is called in O. E. *sē capitul,* a term derived from the Lat. *capitulum.*

For *capitul* = the chapter of a book, vid. Bos. Toll.: we are here concerned only with the later and acquired sense of the word, not with its original meaning.

æfter heora capiteles geéndunge hȳ onscōgen and tō cyrican gān. Reg. Con. Zup. 116.

capitulo facto, matutinalique missa celebrata, „capitule gedōnum", De C. M. 388, 4. Very similar: 401, 7. 390, 7.

convenientes ad capitulum .. ad orientem salutent, „samod cumende tō capitule". De C. M. 385, 4.

recitetur in capitulo omnes pariter surgentes, „.. on capitule". De C. M. 399, 15.

debet reticere in capitulo venturi diei, „þæt hē sceal forswīgean (Ms. for sugean) *on capitule þæs tōwerdan dæges"*. Ibid. 434, 5, — and very similar, ibid. 434, 9.

Chapter 4.

Ecclesiastical Dress. Revenues of the Church. Conclusion.

1. Ecclesiastical Dress.

§ 219. Just as, on the Continent, the dress of the Christian-Roman clergy was only gradually differentiated from the profane mode of attire of the ancient Greeks and Romans, and just as the former was not to be distinguished from the latter by any sharp line of division before A. D. 800, so was there likewise in England during this period no especial liturgical dress to distinguish the clergy from the laity (cf. James p. 37).

In rendering the various expressions denoting costume, clothing, and the like, the O. E. employs native terms whenever the expression in question is of a general nature; if, however, it signifies some special article of dress, either borrowed words or compounds are used.

Thus „dress", „clothing", „garment" in general is denominated:

ʒierela (*ʒeʒerela, ʒeʒyrla*) wk. masc.:

biscopʒeʒyrlan, „saderdotalia indumenta". Bede 90, 2.

dīaconʒeʒyrlan, „clericalia indumenta". Bede 90, 2.

sub habitu monachorum, „únder muneces ʒeʒyrlan". Ben. R. 135, 21.

hrœgl (*hrœgel*),[1] neutr. Cf. Mod. E. „night-rail".

Be mynstermonna hrœglhūse, „de vestiario fratrum". Ben. R. 8, 10.

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[1]) An exceptional case where *hrœgl* is used to denote the archiepiscopal pall is treated below § 241.

Be þām . . . sācerdlīcum hrægluм, „de vestibus sacerdotum“. Bede 482, 13.

rēaf n., plur. *ðā rēaf*:

substantia monasterii in ferramentis vel vestibus, „rēafum“. Ben. R. Log. 63, 2, and Ben. R. etc.

scrūd n. *„habitus“.*

hē sylð him ándlyfene and scrūd, „dat ei victum atque vestitum“. Deuteron. 10, 18.

§ 220. On the other hand, the particular garments were denoted as follows:

Lat. *pallium* — *sē pallium.* Lat. *tunica* — *sēo tunice.* Lat. *dorsale* — *hricg-hrægl,* i. e. „back-dress“, „back-rail“.

The compound *„ðæt mæsserēaf“,* literally the „mass-dress“, denoted the ecclesiastical garment used at the celebration of the mass. Etc., etc.

The illustrations are found below accompanying the corresponding garments.

The Garments considered separately.

§ 221. We shall commence with the *„Amictus“,* or Amice.

Among the Romans this garment denoted simply a loose wrap or covering. In the ecclesiastical inventory, the amice is a square piece of linen cloth thrown about the head and shoulders of the priest. Cf. Kraus, Art. ‘Kleidung’; Oxf. Dict., Art. *‘Amice’*.

Ecclesiastical writers often call the *‘amictus’* also *‘humerale’*, *‘superhumerale’*.

The O. E. is acquainted with the following three equivalents of the Latin terms mentioned, —

1) The compound *ofer-brǣdels,* used almost exclusively, and corresponding almost exactly with the ‘amictus’ not only as a secular, but also as a liturgical garment.

Ofer-brǣdels belongs to the same family as the verb O. E. *ofer-brǣdan,* ‘to overshadow’, ‘put a covering over’, and Ger. *‘breiten’*.

operimentum, oferbrēdels. Wr. W. 78, 38 (9th Cent.).

palla, cyrtel vel oferbrǣdels. Ælfric Wr. W. 107, 26.

Hē þencð on ðām oferbrǣdelse his mōdes, 'He thinks superficially'. Past. 55, 18.

Thǣr synd twā Crīstes bēc and II rōdan and . . II wēoved sceatas and II overbrǣdels. — Church inventory. Cart. Sax. No. 1324.

Hē [= sē sācerd] bið swīðe gerisenlīce beswapen mid swīðe wlitige oferbrǣdelse on bǣm scúldrum. Past. 83, 21.

2) *Scúldor-hrægl* n., 'Shoulder-rail', a translation of Lat. '*superhumerale*':

Superhumerale, scúldorhrægl. Wr. W. 327, 24. As this is the only passage where *scúldor-hrægl* occurs, we must consider its further use in O. E. as uncertain. A similar difficulty is presented by

3) *Eaxl-clāð* m., i. e. 'Shoulder-cloth', Lat. '*humerale*'. In this case, however, we are certain as to one point, viz. that the O. E. *eaxl-clāð* was used to denote the sacerdotal humeral veil of the Jews.

Thus, in reference to the sacerdotal costume of Aaron in the Old Test., it is said:

lēde eaxlclāð ofer hine, „desuper humerale imposuit“. Lev. 8, 6.

§ 222. The tunic of the clergy and secular classes is sometimes rendered by the native terms '*cyrtel*', '*serc*' ('*syric*'), or '*hrægl*'. But more usually the O. E. employs the Lat. word in the form '*tunece*' ('*tunice*', '*tonice*'), wk. f. For the failing Umlaut cf. *munec, -uc*; and vid. Pog. § 113.

Cyrtel and syric are likewise Lat. derivatives: *cyrtel* from Lat. '*curtus*' either, as Pogatscher has surmised (Pog. § 260), through the mediation of O. N. *kyrtill*; or more probably[1]) directly from the Lat. **curt-* with the ordinary O. E. suffix *-el.* In the latter case *cyrtel* would belong to the Continental Period of O. E. Cf. O. H. G. *churz,* N. H. G. *kurz* and see Kluge in Grd.[2] I, p. 337.

syric is derived from the Latin '*tunica serica*' (Pog. § 129):[2])

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[1]) The very early appearance of the word in O. E. (already in Ælfred's Oros. 18, 21) is the chief objection to Pog.'s surmise.

[2]) Cf. Sievers, Zum ags. Vocalismus, Decantsprogramm 1900, p. 11.

Duas tonicas et duas cucullas, „twā tunican and twā cuflan“. Ben. R. Log. 92, 9 &c.

tunicam et pallium, „þīne tunecan . . ðīnne wǣfels“. Mt. 5, 40. The North. version has here, *„tunicam, cyrtel vel hrægl“.*

cucullam et tonicam, „cuȝelan and syric“. Ben. R. 89, 10.

§ 223. The Dalmatic.

From Dalmatia we get the garment known to the Romans as *'tunica Dalmatica'.* Originally a purely secular article of apparel, the *'Dalmatica'* became by order of Pope Sylvester (314—335) limited to clerical usage.

Until after the beginning of the 9th century, the dalmatic was a distinguishing mark of the Roman hierarchy, and of the Pope and the deacons especially. Since then it became customary to confer it upon the foreign (i. e. non-resident in Rome) deacons; and at a still later period bishops were permitted to assume, on solemn and festive occasions, the dalmatic of the deacon. It is this later custom which gave rise to the designation in O. E. of this garment as 'the bishop's coat', *biscop + rocc*; e. g. Leechd. III, 202, 26, *Mid biscoprocce scrȳdan,* Lat. *'dalmatica'.*

The earlier practice is preserved in O. E. *dīacon-rocc*; thus — *Diacono dalmatica induto, „dīacone mid dīaconrocce ȝescrȳddum“.* De C. M. 416, 2.

In addition to the above, we have in O. E. likewise the weak loanword *'dalmatica',* borrowed without change from the Latin.

It is found in the following passages:

sē dīacon mid dalmatican ȝescrȳd, 'dalmatica'. Reg. Con. Zup. 174, and similar, Ib. 171.

Finally, in a church-inventory of the Cod. Dipl. No. 940 we read, —

V fulle mæsserēaf and II dalmatica [= *dalmatican*].

For the precise construction of the Dalmatic vid. Oxf. Dict.

Note. The Oxf. Dict. has no instance of the use of 'dalmatic' in English earlier than the year 1425. As the above cited passages show, the word was beginning to be used, however, as far back as the end of the O.E. period.

§ 224. The alb, Lat. *'tunica alba'* was originally a long, white (*'albus'* — whence the name), blouselike, festive tunic, comprising the principal undergarment of the Greeks and Romans. As a liturgical vestment the alb is first mentioned towards the close of the 4th Cent., although the tunic was worn by the priest at the altar as his most prominent garment since the 1st Century A. D. (Cf. Kraus).

In O. E. the Lat. word is adopted in the form of the weak fem. *'albe'*:

Alba, albe. Wr. W. 327, 21.

ðā [sc. *dīaconas*] *sceolon on hwītum album ðām Hǣlende þēowigan.* Ælfric's Canons. Th. p. 444.

ǣlc prēost hæbbe . . . subuculam únder his alban. Edg.'s Canons. Th. p. 398.

Further: De C. M. 403, 4. 408, 13. Reg. Con. Zup. 172. &c.

Note. The Oxf. Dict. cites as the earliest example of the use of *'albe'* the passage quoted above (*ǣlc prēost hæbbe* etc.), the date of which is about 1100.

§ 225. A second expression sometimes used to designate the principal vestment of the priest is the more general term *ofer-slype* (*-slip, -slop*) str. n., *'superpelliceum'*, i. e. the surplice — a word which corresponds to the O. N. *yfirsloppr, 'superpelliceum', 'alba'.*

The simple O. E. *slop, slype,* denotes a flowing garment or dress (Cf. Mod. E. „a child's slip", or pinafore, cited by Bos. Toll.), and is referred to the same stem as the verb O. E. *slūpan, slēap, slupon, slopen,* 'to slip', 'glide'.

Wē lǣrað ðæt mæsse-prēosta oððe mynster-prēosta ǣnig ne cume binnan circan-dyre . . . būton his ofer-slipe (*ofer-slope,* variant). Edg.'s Canons 46.

The word is, however, likewise used in a non-liturgical sense to signify merely a long, loose robe:

Hē [= *sē apostol*] *is ýmbscrȳd mid hwītum oferslype, „vestitus colobio albo . . induitur pallio albo".* Hom. I, 456.
ambulare in stolis, „in stolum vel on oferslopum". Lind. Lk. 20, 46 (*'stola'* here in the old sense of long robe; see below).

§ 226. The *'cingulum'*, or priestly girdle, is in O. E. *sē gýrdel* (i. e. properly 'little girth' — cf. Kluge, Wtb. sub *Gurt* and *Garten*; and Skeat, *Gird, Girdle*).

As may be supposed, the O. E. *gýrdel* (*gýrdels*) is not at all limited to the liturgical *'cingulum'*: E. g. Leechd. III, 260, 20:

wē hātađ on Leden quinque zonas, đœt sýnd fīf gýrdlas.

Cingulum vel zona vel cinctorium, gýrdel. Wr. W. 327, 27.

Etc.

§ 227. The ecclesiastical maniple, in Lat. *manipulus* or *manuale* (also called, until the 8th Cent. *mappula*), was in appearance very similar to the stole (see below); but in place of being worn about the neck it was originally carried in the hand (*'manus'*) and later on the left arm of the priest.

Accordingly, we have in O. E. the very faithful rendering *hánd-līn,* i. e. hand-linen, hand-cloth: *līn* str. n. flax, linen.

Manualis, hándlīn Wr. W. 124, 34. 376, 26.

IIII subdīacones hándlīn. Chart. Th. (Bos. Toll.).

In O. N. we have precisely the same expression: *'handlín, manipulus'* (Kahle S. 39; Taranger p. 345).

§ 228. The stole (before A. D. 800 known as *'orarium'*, since then as *'stola'*) was at first only a napkin or handkerchief (*'sudarium'*) of oblong shape ('wie ein langer Schleier', says Kraus) in stead of the usual square.

It thus required but few modifications to assume the dimensions of the present liturgical vestment.

The *orarium* is called in O. E. *stole* wk. f., from Lat. *stola*:

si vero sacerdos fuerit, circumdatur ei stola super cucullam, „sī ymbūtonséald him stole . . . .“ De C. M. 443, 11. Vid. also Ibid. 404, 16. 403, 7.

I sylurene stōrcille, . . . IIII sylurene calices . . . VIII stolan. Cart. Sax. No. 1128 (Church inventory).

alba, albe. casula, mœssehacele. stola, stole. Wr. W. 327, 23.

§ 229. The strong neuter *stol,* which is found only in North., translates Lat. *stola* in the original sense of long, flowing outer garment in general.

Thus in D. Rit. *stola glorie, stol wúldres.* 45, 16. Similarly, Lind. Lk. 15, 22. 20, 46 &c.

Unfortunalely, the scanty sources of the North. dialect prevent us from determining whether the term *stol* also included the liturgical stole or not.

In Bos. Toll. the two terms *stole* and *stol* are wrongly classed together, as if interchangeable in meaning.

§ 230. The mass-garment proper of the Roman priesthood was the sacerdotal *'casula'*, known, prior to A. D. 800, as *'planeta'*.

The chasuble had an opening in the middle for the head, and fell down over the shoulders and arms.

In rendering *'casula'* the O. E. employs the native compound *mæssehacele* wk. f., from *hacele,* upper garment, coat; cf. O. N. *messuhǫkull,* O. H. G. *hachul,* Goth. *hakuls.*

Examples.

Casula, mæssehacele. Wr. W. 327, 22.

Thǣr sýnd twā Crīstes bēc .... and twā mæsserēaf and III mæssehakelan. Cart. Sax. 1324.

&c.

Note. The interesting loanword *casul* occurs once as the translation of the Latin birrus in a gloss of the 10th Cent. (Wr. W. 196, 39); but it is entirely uncertain whether it has any liturgical sense. Certainly the use of *birrus* in explanation would not seem to indicate the chasuble; cf. Ælfric's Gloss, Wr. W. 151, 41: *birrus, unsmēðe hrægel* — 'a rough garment'! Vid. also Du Cange sub 'Birrus'.

§ 231. The compounds *mæsse-rēaf* n., and *mæssehrægel* n., as would appear from their second elements, denote rather the mass-vestments or mass-vesture generally than any particular garment used in the celebration of the mass. The following examples will make this distinction clear:

Ðēs pāpa ȝesette ðæt mæssepreōstas ne sceóldon brūcan ȝehālgodra mæssehrægla būton on cyrcean ānre. Shrn. 112, 19 (Bos. Toll.).

sē hālga Swīðūn on scīnendum mæsserēafe stōd æt þām wēofode. Lives 21, 354.

Thǣr synd twā Crīstes bēc . . . and twā mæsse-rēaf and III mæssehakelan. Cart. Sax. 1324, &c.

ic geann . . . ānes mæsserēafes mid eallum ðām ðe ðǣrtō gebyreð. Cod. Dipl. No. 694.

intō crydian tīme þrēo þēningbēc and ān mæsse-rēaf. Chart. and Doc. X.

§ 232. In the passages now to be cited, *mæssehrægl* and another compound, *mæssegierela (gierela,* 'dress', 'clothing'), are used to denote the fine garment worn by the high priests of the Old Test. and called in Lat. the superhumeral (*„superhumerale"*). Cf. Du Cange for a more detailed description.

Forðon is tō-ēacan ðǣm twī-blīon godwebbe ðæt scyle bēon twī-ðrǣwen twīn on ðǣm mæssegierelan, „in superhumeralis ornamento". Past. 87, 19 ('Surplice'-Sweet).

tō ðǣm wlite ðæs mæssehrægles, „pulchritudini superhumeralis". Past. 87, 22, and ib. 83, 9. 89, 1.

§ 233. *„Cappa"* and *„pluviale"* were terms used in Low Lat. to designate a cloak-like overdress, which, like the more classic *„paenula"*, was worn on journeys or in rainy weather. Being supplied with a hood, it was also known as the *„cucula"*, and soon became a favorite article of dress of monastics.

In O. E. both *cappa* and *cuculla* were adopted into the language: *cappa* appearing as the weak fem. *cæppe,* and *cuculla* as *cugele* (*cugle, cuhle, cule*) — whence the Mod. Eng. „cowl".

§ 234. The *g* in *cugele* shows us that the immediate prototype of the O. E. word must not be sought in classic Latin, but in the Romance, in which, soon after the year 400, the inter-vowel voiceless consonants became voiced. Now in the latter half of the 5th Cent., Lat. *u* became changed in the Romance languages to *o* (Pog. § 157, 159). Consequently the adoption of the O. E. word must have occurred at some period between A. D. 400 and 450.

The O. H. G. *kugula,* with the same sense, must also have been acquired about this time; whereas the M. L. G. and M. D. forms *kogel, cogel,* evidently date from after 450.

Cugele presents a very interesting secondary form, viz. *cufle,* with the same meaning. The latter is most probably derived from a Middle Lat. or Romance **cufella,* the diminutive of *cufia, „tegmen capitis“.*

The change of meaning would be easily explained either by contamination with *cugulla,* or by a natural development from the general sense to the special, from head-covering generally to the monastic head-covering — the cowl.

The existence of **cufella* is furthermore indicated by M. L. G. *kovel* and M. D. *covel,* 'a monk's cowl', which, as in the case of *kogel, cogel,* must have been borrowed after the Rom. vowelchange $u > o$. For the passage of *f* to *v* between vowels in O. S. vid. Gallee, Altsächsische Gram. § 112 and Holthausen, Alts. Elementarb. § 197.

O. N. *kufl* seems to have been borrowed from O. E., and the variant *kofl* from O. S.

Note. Bos. Toll. and Sweet do not record the form *cufle*; the Oxf. Dict. (Art. *„Cowl“*) refers to the allied forms in O. N., M. L. G. and M. D., but offers no explanation („The history of *cufle* and its allied forms is obscure“).

Vervijs and Verdam, in their „Middelnederlansch Woordenboek“ (1885—1894), give a formally irreproachable derivation from Lat. *„cubella“*, the prototype of M. H. G. *kübel,* „little tub“.

But the Lat. word has never meant anything but „small tub“; and it is therefore difficult to understand how *„covel“*, borrowed from it, could arrive without any apparent middle stages to the widely divergent sense of *cowl.*[1])

It would seem, therefore, far more probable that *cufia* (**cufella*) should be the true prototype — a term which even in Latin approaches very closely in meaning to *'cowl'*.

Pogatscher does not treat the word.

Examples.

§ 235. In O. E. the *cucullа* or monk's cowl is always rendered by *cugele, cufle.* On the other hand, *cuculla* in the sense of the liturgical *cappa,* or cope, is, with a few exceptions (vid. below), expressed by *cæppe*:

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[1]) As for their second suggestion that Lat. *copula* may have been the source of *kovel* etc., it need not be seriously considered, since *copula* does not occur in the sense of cowl, hood, before the 15th century, and then but very rarely. Vid. Du Cange.

wē þeah gelȳfað . . ðæt hē (sc. *sē munuc*) *hæbbe cugelan and syric.* Ben. R. 89, 10 (Wells Frag.: *culan and syric*).

sēo cuhle. Ibid. 89, 13 (Wells Frag.: *sēo cūle*).

cappa, cæppe . . . cuculla, cugle. Wr. W. 328, 10, 14.

planeta, cæppe. Ælfric's Voc. Wr. W. 124, 31. Ibid. 327, 25.

penula, gerēnod cæppe. Ibid. 124, 32.

residui tres (sc. *fratres*) *succedant omnes quidem cappis induti, „. . . mid kæppum“.* De C. M. 427, 2.

ēadwine mæssepreoste .V. manc góldes and his kæppan. Will of Bishop Alford of Crediton (A. D. 1008—1012). Chart. and Doc. X, 17.

Note also the compound *canter-cæppe* = *cæppe*:

abbas stola et cappa indutus, „. . . mid cantercæppan gescrȳdd“. De C. M. 403, 7.

Perhaps this should be **cantel-cæppe, 'cantel-cope'*, from *cantel* (Lat. *cantellus*), „a quarter of cloth“; cf. Oxf. Dict. Art. *„cantelcope“*.

The following passages contain *cæppe* in the old sense of 'cloak' generally: Hom. II, 160 (Lat. *„melotem“*) and I, 336.

§ 236. A few native equivalents of Lat. *cappa* (*sacerdotalis*) occur —

a) *hōd* str. m., O. H. G. *huot* (Mod. G. *Hut*), prop. cap or hood. For etymology cf. Kluge, Skeat, and Oxf. Dict.:

Ʒif hē (i. e. *sē prēost*) *godspel rǣde, lecʒe him þæne hōd ofer þā scúldra, „si autem evangelium legat* (sc. *cucullam vel cappam*) *super humeros ponat“.* Con. Ecgb. 9 (MS. X).

Note. The Oxf. Dict. has no example of this use of hōd; cf. Art. „Hood“.

b) *heden* str. m., hood, *„casula“*:

sacerdos cum missam cantat, ne portet cucullum nec cappam, „ne hæbbe hē on heden ne cæppan“. Con. Ecgb. 9.

ðæt hē (= *sē prēost*) *him ofdō his oferhacelan oððe heden, ac gif hē evangelium rǣde wyrpe him of heden oððe cappan on his gescýldro, „necesse est ei cappam suam vel cucullum exuere; si autem evangelium legit, cucullum vel cappam super humeros dejiciat“.* Con. Ecgb. 9 (XY).

c) *ofer-hacele* wk. f., hood, cope. Cf. *hacele* and *mæsse-hacele.* My only example has already been cited under *heden.*

The above-cited illustrations show clearly that the *hōd,* the *heden,* and the *ofer-hacele* were not the same as the chasuble, or *mæsse-hacele*; for it is expressly provided that they are not to be worn during the celebration of the mass.

§ 237. The scapular.

When at work it was customary with the monks to lay aside their cowls and to replace them by a short cloak or cape covering only the shoulders (*scapulae*). This was termed in O. E. *Scapularia* wk. m., < Lat. *scapulare*; or else the Lat. form was adopted without change:

hæbban hȳ ēac mid tō wyrcenne scapulare, ðæt is ʒehwǣde cuʒelan and slȳflēase, „. . scapulare propter opera“. Ben. R. 89, 13. Ben. R. Log. has here, *„and scapularian“.* Ben. R. Log. 91, 17.

I have no further examples of this expression.

§ 238. The dossal.

Behind the seats of the clergy in the chancel it was customary to hang *„dorsalia“,* or ornamental draperies; and an especially fine one adorned the cathedra of the bishop.

In O. E. the dossal was called *hricg-hrægel,* „back-rail“, back-dress — a faithful rendering of the Lat. *dorsale.*

Examples of *hricg-hrægl* are not frequent in O. E. literature, and are found only in documentary writings.

Thus we read in the will of Bishop Alford of Crediton: *Ēadgyfe his swyster, ān stricʒhrægl and I hricghrægl.* Chart. and Doc. X, 21.

And again in Cod. Dipl. No. 694:

ic ʒeann ðæder intō ðǣre hālgan stōwe . . ānes mæsserēafes . and ānes hricghrægles ðæs sēlestan ðe ic hæbbe.

The Pall.

§ 239. Bishops, especially archbishops, were granted by the Pope a particular ensign of jurisdiction in the form of the pall, or episcopal cloak.

The Lat. *pallium,* which also denoted mantle or cloak generally, was twice borrowed by O. E.: first in the popular form *pæll, pell* (after the time of the breaking!), „cloak", „costly mantle"; and a second time at a later period, in the learned form *pallium, sē pallium.*

Note 1. According to the Latin prototype, we should expect a neuter noun — **ðæt pallium.* Perhaps the masculine form is to be accounted for by confusion with the older *pæll, pell,* which is masculine. Cf. on this point Pog. § 287, and Sievers' Gram.[2, 3] § 80, Anm. 4.

Note 2. As the word *pell* for *pæll* is of rare occurrence, and is important for the later linguistic development as being the prototype of M. E. *pelle,* I shall give here a list of those passages in which I have found the form in O. E.:

pallium, pell. Ælfric's Gram. p. 257, 3 (MS. h). *palliatus, mid pelle gescrȳd.* Ibid. 257, 3 (MSS. hU).

þā seltcūðan mærða . . . on pellum and purpuran. Ass. VIII, 18.

mid hāligdōme . . . of Michaēles pelle. Lives 6, 73.

iiii pellas. Chast. Th. (Bos. Toll.).

With the exception of Ass. VIII, 18, all these passages have already been noted by Bos. Toll.

On *pell* cf. Morsbach, M. E. Gram. § 107, Anm. 5.

Examples.

pallium onfēng sē biscop in Areela þǣre byriȝ, „pallium Arelatensis episcopus accepit". Bede 72, 22.

(*hē*) *þone pallium ȝenam on Sc̄e Petres wēofode.* Chr. D. 1022.

Hēr Cēolnoð ærcebiscep onfēng pallium. Chr. A, anno 831. Similar, ibid. 736, 764, etc.

ðæt his æftergéngan symle þone pallium and þone ercehād æt þām apostolīcan setle . . . feccan sceóldon. Hom. II, 132, 10.

§ 240. Now and then we find the archbishop's pall termed *sē ærce (erce):*

mē ðinð [= ðíncð] rǣd þat ðū ealra ǣrost fare tō Rōme æfter þīnon ærce, „pro pallio vestro". Chron. F, anno 995 — Earle p. 332, Plummer p. 130.

hē [sc. *sē pāpa*] *scólde ȝifan heom ðone erce.* Ibid.

This „*sē ærce*" is probably the abbreviation of a full form **sē ærce-pallium* — which, however, does not seem to be found; for we must reject the passage Chron. F, 997 (Earle). — *Hēr*

Ælfric arb. [= *arcebiscop*] *fērde tō Rōme æfter his arcepallium* —, since, according to Plummer p. 131, in the original „*pallium* is written above arce as if a gloss to it“.

§ 241. Finally, we have in the North. dialect the native *hrægl* applied to the translation of Lat. *pallium,* the pall:

archiepiscopus . . sive summus episcopus qui et pallio uteretur, „sē ðe ǣc ðǣm hrægle gebrūce“. D. Rit. 194, 14 (only example).

§ 242. Turning our attention to the „*mitra episcopalis*“, or bishop's mitre, we find that it was known in O. E. as 'the bishop's hood' — *biscopes hūf(e),* from *hūfe,* O. H. G. *hûba,* O. N. *húfa,* 'hood'.

The expression occurs only in gloss-form and is found but once:[1])

Mitra vel diadema, biscopes hūf. Wr. W. 188, 20.

From *hūfe* is derived the verb *hūfian,* to furnish with a hood or mitre. Thus, in Lev. 8, 13 it is said of the sons of Aaron:

(*Moises*) *scrīdde his suna mid and . . . . hūfode, „. . imposuitque mitras*“.

§ 243. Note. *biscophéafodlīn.*

This expression occurs but a single time in O. E., being found in Ælfric's gloss as the equivalent of the Lat. *infula* (Wr. W. 152, 23).

Now, *infula* denotes in Eccl. Lat. either a sort of ornamental fillet or band of cloth worn as a head-dress, or it may signify the '*amictus humeralis*', the amice.

The O. E. *biscophēafodlin,* 'bishop's head-cloth' does not help us, as, 'head-cloth' could denote either a fillet or the amice. It is possible that this garment is the same as the M. E. *hēved-līn,* which, according to the „Lay Folk's Mass Book“ (Glossary) signifies 'amice'. Cf. also Oxf. Dict. Art. „*amice*“. Sweet translates (*biscophēafodlīn*) „ornament“.

§ 244. In conclusion, we have to note the rare loan-word '*rationale*', taken bodily from the Lat. without change.

The sacerdotal rational was of two kinds. We find it denoting in the first place the stole of the Jewish high-

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[1]) Cf. also Napier, Old Engl. Gl. 5242 mitrę *hættes, hufan*; 2, 440 mitrę, .i. tigera, *hufan*; 8, 353 mitrę, .i. *hufan.*

priest in the Old Test. — called the 'rational', because the words embroidered upon it — *'Doctrina et Veritas'* — were to serve as a constant admonition to the priest (*'rationale judicii'*).

In the Christian hierarchy, the name 'rational' seems to have generally been applied to a sort of breast-plate of gold, silver, or embroidered stuff worn by bishops during the celebration of the mass. At other times it apparently signifies the pall or pallium. Vid. Du Cange, and the Century Dict. Art. 'Rational'.

In O. E., *'rationale'* is used only in the former or older sense. It is found in the following passages:

and bánd tō þām rationale on þām wæs āwriten Lār and Sōðfæstnys, „adstringens cingulo rationali in quo erat Doctrina et Veritas". Lev. 8, 8.

on Arones brēostum sceólde bēon āwriten sīo racu ðæs dōmes on ðǣm hrægle ðe mon hǣt rationale. „. . rationale judicii". Past. 77, 9.

For an account of the Jewish garment vid. Past. cap. XIII.

2. The Revenues of the Church.

§ 245. A) The chief source from which the Church derived its support in the Middle Ages was the system of tithing.

The tithe was established in direct imitation of the ancient Jewish system, and was at first regarded purely as a voluntary offering to the Deity. But since the 6th Cent. it became an established law of the Church; and we find it after the days of Charlemagne forceably collected.

And so we read in the English laws of the 9th and 10th centuries provisions of a similar nature. Cf. the Laws of Æthelred (A. D. 978--1014) VIII, 8; and even earlier (between 940—946), under king Edmund, we read of the negligent tithe-payer's being threatened with excommunication; vid. Edm.'s Gesetze I, 2.

According to Æthelred's code (VIII, 6, 7), the tithe was divided into three portions, of which the first was devoted to the repair of church-buildings; the second fell to the 'ministers of God' (*Godes þeowas*), and the third to the poor.

In O. E. the following terms designated the tithe:

§ 246. 1. *tēoðung* (*-ing*) fem., *'decimatio'*, a 'tithing' — the most usual designation. The word is likewise frequently employed in a non-ecclesiastical sense to signify the political classification of the people into Tens or tithings, Lat. *decaniae* (*tēoðunga*); cf. on this point Schmidt's 'Glossar', or Kemble's „Saxons in England", chap. 9.

Thus *tēoðung* was not created by the Church to render the Lat. *decimatio*, but had already existed in pre-Christian times. Christianity added a new notion to its meaning.

Examples.

Ʒif hwā tēoðunge rihtlīce gelǣstan nelle, þonne fare tō ðæs cyninges gerēfa and þæs mynstres mæssepreōst . . and niman unþances þone tēoðan dǣl tō þām mynstre ðe hit tō gebirige. Æthelred VIII, 8.

Be tēoðungum . and sȳ ǣlcere geoguðe tēoðung gelǣst be Pentecosten. Edgar II, 3. Very similar, Wulf. 116. &c.

The tithe collected in the spring of the year consisted of young cattle, and was, accordingly known as *'geoguðe tēoðung'*, *geoguð*, youth, young, as in the last example cited. In the fall, on the other hand, agricultural products naturally comprised the contribution, which was then called the *'córn-tēoðung'*. Thus Wulfstan tells us (116, 3 — MS. b):

and córntēoðung be emnihte oððe latest be ealra hālgena mæssan, and ǣfre ðone tēoðan æcer ealswā sēo sulh hit gegā.

Cf. also Can. Edg. 54: *and geoguðe tēoðunge be Pentecosten and eorðwestma be omnium Sanctorum.*

Similarly, Wulf. 208, 1 et seq., etc.

§ 247. 2. *sē tēoða*, lit. 'the tenth', either by ellipse from *'sē tēoða dǣl'*, following the Lat. *'decima* (sc. *pars*)', or from *'tēoða sceatt'* str. m., treated below:

Gif wē ūre tēoðan gesyllan nyllað, ūs ðā nygon dǣlas bið ætbredene and sē tēoða ān ūs bið tō lāf. Laws of Æthelstan, Thorpe p. 84.

Ic þē wille gesyllan mīne tēoðan, „decimas offeram tibi". Æthelstan I, 2 (Schmidt, Liebermann).

To the stem *tēoð-* belongs the verb to tithe, O. E. *tēoðian, 'decimare'*:

And hīredmanna ʒehwilc sille pænig tō ælmæssan . . . and hēafodmen tēoðian ('give tithes'). Æthelr. VII, App. § 5. Wulf. 181, 16 et seq.

man ʒetēoðiʒe . . . þæt þæt god sénde þonne on ʒēare folce tō þearfe on córne and on flexe and on ʒewelhwylcon wæstme. Wulf. 310, 21 et seq.

§ 248. 3. *tēoða sceatt,* pl. *tēoðan sceattas, 'decimae'*; from O. E. *sceatt,* 'money', 'wealth'. Cf. O. H. G. *scaz,* 'money'; Goth. *skatts,* 'money'; O. N. *skattr,* 'tax', 'tribute', as in *Rúmskattr,* 'Peter's pence'.

þæs heretēames ealles tēoðan sceat Abraham séalde godes bisceope. Gen. 2121. *Bríngað gē on mīn beren ēowerne tēoðan sceat.* Blick. 39, 26.

ðonne lǣre ic ēow, . . . ðæt ʒē syllon ēowre tēoðan sceattas earmum mannum. Ibid. 49, 19.

§ 249. 4. *tēoðing-sceat,* 'tithing tax':

ðæs nēadʒafoles ðe crīstene men ʒode ʒelǣstan scóldon on heora tēoðingsceattum ('in their tithes'). Edgar IV, 1.

Cf. above sub *'tēoðing'* and *'tēoða sceat'*.

In addition to the tithe, the O. E. sources make frequent mention of other contributions of minor importance. They are the following.

§ 250. B) Church-shot, in O. E. *cyric-sceat,* consisting in a certain quantity of grain or other products, and paid annually at St. Martin's Day (11th of Nov.).

Ciricsceattas sīn āgifene be Sce̅ Martines mæssan ('Martinmas'). Ine 4. Similar: Wulf. 116. 311.

And cyricsceat tō Martines mæssan; and sē ðe hine ofer ðæne dæg héalde, āgyfe hine ðām bisceope and forgýlde hine XI sīðan and ðām cíngce CXX scyll. Cnut I, 10.

&c.

§ 251. C) Soul-shot i. e. a burial tax — O. E. *sāwl-sceat* or *sāwl-scot* — a sort of fee payable to the church of the deceased before the burial took place. This latter provision was always insisted upon; for the *sāwl-scot* was regarded by the clergy as a well earned increment. The O. E. corresponds to the *'symbolum animae'* or *'pecunia sepulturae'* of the Latin version of the Laws.

The stringent enforcement of the soul-shot is clearly shown by the following citations:

þæt hē æfter forðsīðe būtan sāwulsceatte ne licge on mynstre, ac gelǣste man ā þone sāwelsceat æt openum pytte ('paid at the open grave'). Wulf. 118. Very similar ibid. 208, 25.

And sāwlsceat is rihtast ðæt man symle gelǣste æt openum græfe. Æthelr. V, 12. VI, 20. Cf. also Earle, Land Ch. p. 222 (anno 1006).

Æt ǣlcum forð farenum gíldan æt ǣlcum héorðe ǣnne penig tō sāwulsceote . . .; and ðat sāwulgesceot sceulon þā canōnicas habban. Chart. Th. 609, 10—18 (Bos. Toll.). Cf. also Æthelstan I, 4. Edg. II, 5. Cn. I, 13. &c.

Note. The final element of *sāwlscot (-gesceot) must not be* confused with that of *sāwl-sceat.*

The etymological connections of *sceat* have already (vid. *tēoða sceat*) been explained. *gescot, scot,* are participial derivatives of the verb *scēotan* (part. *gescoten*), 'to shoot', secondarily, 'to advance (shoot) or contribute money', just as in German we have the phrase 'Geld vorschiessen'.

§ 252. D) *lēoht-gescot (-gesceot, -scot),* i. e. 'lightshot', or tax for the illumination of the churches. This contribution was levied, according to the laws of Æthelred, every year at Candlemas, the feast of the purification of the Virgin (2nd Feb.). Later, it was provided by Cnut that light-shot should be paid three times per year; viz. at Easter, All Saints' Day, and Candlemas.

lēohtgescot gelǣste man tō Cándelmæssan; dō oftor sē ðe wille. Æthelr. VIII, 12.

And lēohtgesceot þriwa on gēare, ǣrest on Ēasterǣfen healf-penigwurð wexes æt ǣlcere hīde, and eft on Ealra Hālgena Mæssan eallswā mycel, and eft tō þǣm Sanctan Marian clǣnsunge ealswā. Cnut I, 12. Very similar, Wulf. 116, 6. &c.

§ 253. E) Plow-alms — *sulh-ælmæsse* — was an annual tax consisting of a *'peniȝ'* for every 'plow' of land, and was to be paid always 15 'nights' after Easter; cf. Schmidt's 'Glossar'.

The O. E. expression is compounded of *sulh,* 'plow', and the loan-word *ælmesse* (*ælmysse*) 'alms', derived from M. L. *alimosina,* classic L. *eleemosyna.* For the origin of *ælmesse* vid. Pog. §§ 38, 75, 207, 237; and Oxf. Dict. for its later history (Art. *'Alms'*).

us ȝebyreð þæt wē . . . gode betǣcan ūre sulhælmessan XV niht on ufan ēastran. Wulf. 208, 1. 311. Also: Edw. and Guthr. 6 § 3. Can. Edg. 54.

Etc.

This contribution was apparently called sometimes 'alms-fee', O. E. *ælmes-feoh*; from *feoh* = Mod. Eng. *fee* (originally 'cattle'). Cf. the Latin version of Edm. I, 2: „*ælmesfeoh* i. e. *elemosine pecuniam*" — a phrase which occurs likewise in the Latin versions of Append. III, 1 and ibid. III, 2. Read also the explanation given by Schmidt in his 'Glossar'.

§ 254. Peter's Pence, *'denarius Sancti Petri',* was by the Saxons no longer conceived of as a pious offering or gift of a voluntary nature presented to St. Peter; but was regarded (more practically than ideally) as a necessary tax paid to Rome by all true Catholics.

Thus we find the Peter's Pence termed as follows:

Rōm-feoh, Rome-fee, Rome-money:

And rōmfeoh ȝelǣste man ǣghwylce ȝēare be Pētres mæssan. Wulf. 311, 1. Further, Edw. & Guth. 6, § 1. Edm. I, 2. Cnut I, 9.

Rōm-pænig, 'Rome-penny':

Wē willað ðæt ælc Rōmpæniȝ bēo ȝelǣst be Pētres mæssan tō þām bisceopstōle. Append. II, 57, § 1 ('Nordhumbrisches Priestergesetz').

Etc.

Rōm-scot, Rome-shot, Rome-tax (rare):

De denario Sancti Petri qui anglice dicitur Romescot [*Rōm-ȝescot*?]. Edw. Confess. 10.

Cf. also these passages from Chron. E (Transition Engl.)

man syððan ðæt Rōmȝesceot sénde (in form perfectly pure O. E.). Anno 1095 (end).

hē cōm æfter þe Róme-scot. 1123.

Rōm-scot must, however, have been popularly much in vogue; for it is quite probable that the corresponding O. N. expressions *Rúmskatr, Rómaskatr* were direct adaptations of the English. Cf. Taranger pp. 290, 291.

heorð-peniȝ, i. e. 'hearth-penny'; socalled because every 'hearth' (= fire-side), or family, in the land was expected to pay the tax.[1])

And sȳ ǣlc heorðpening āgyfen be Pētres mæssedæg, and sē ðe hine tō þām Ándagan gelǣst næbbe, lǣde hine tō Rōme and þǣrtō ēacan XXX penega. Edg. II, 4. The very similar passage, Wulf. 116, has here as variant readings *rōmpænig, rōmpeniȝ.*

Etc.

As we see in these various examples, the sole connection of the *Rōm-peniȝ* of the Anglo-Saxons with St. Peter was in the day of its collection — St. Peter's Day.

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[1]) Another *heorð-peniȝ,* mentioned in App. III, 3, was payable on Ascension Day ('Holy Thursday') and signified possibly Plow-alms; vid. Schmidt's note to the passage in question.

Conclusion : Summary.

Words marked (†) are of doubtful classification.

A. The Foreign Element.

I. Period (Continental) — before A. D. 450.

§ 255. 1. Greek.

cirice (*ϰυϱιαϰά*).
dēofol (*διάβολος* or Lat. *diabolus*).

§ 256. 2. Latin.

ámbiht, ómbiht, ámbeht (ambactus).
cyrtel (curtus).
regol, reogol (regula), any rule or standard; in Christian times also Benedictine Rule: Pog. § 44.
scrīfan, scrift (scribere, script-um).
scrīn (scrinium).

§ 257. 3. Gallo-Roman.

biscop, biscob (*ebescobu, *ebescopu < episcopus).
cugele, cugle, cuhle, cule (*cugulla < Lat. cuculla).
cufle (*cufella, diminutive of Lat. cufia).
munuc, munec (*monicus < monachus; but cf. § 200 n).
mynecen, -e, -u (*monica < monacha).
mynster (*mon'sterjo < monasterium).
†*prēost, prēst* (*prēstre < presbyter; perhaps after 450).
†*prēostlīc*, cf. *prēost.*
†*prōfost, prāfost* (praepositus, propositus; cf. § 195 and

Sievers' Gram.[3] § 192, 2) — perhaps, as Pogatscher thinks (§ 108), borrowed at first in sense of overseer, director, generally, and modified to 'provost' in Christian times.

III. Period (Christian) — A. D. 600—1066.

§ 258. 1. Latin.

acolitus (accolytus).
albe (alba).
āncor, āncora, āncra, oncor, ancor (anachoreta; cf. § 183 n. 2).
apostol, postol (apostolus).
apostollīc, 'apostolicus'.
Baptista, -an.
bæstere, bæzere, bæðcere, bezere (Baptista).[1]
cānōneclīc (canonicus + -līc).
cānōnic (canonicus).
cantere, cantor (cantor).
capitul (capitulum).
cappa, cæppe, (cappa) — after 650; cf. Pog. §§ 355, 356.
clēric, clēroc, clīroc, clerc (clericus).
dalmatica (tunica Dalmatica).
decan, decanus (decanus).
dīacon, dēacon (diaconus).
discipul, discipulus (discipulus).
discipula.
Ebrēisc, ðā Ebrēas (pl.) (Hebraeus).
erce-, ærce-, arce- (archi-).
erce, str. m. < **erce-pallium.*
erce-dīacon, archi-dīacon (archidiaconus).
evangelista, -an.
exorcista, -an.
Farisēisc, Farisēus, pl. *Farisēas, Farisēi* (Pharisēus etc. < Pharisaeus).
Israhēl, pl. *Israhēle* (Israel).
Israhēlisc, Israhēlitisc.
Iūdēisc, iūdisc, etc. (Iudaeus).
martyr(-e), (martyr).

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1) Cf. Kluge, D. Litteraturzeitung 1902 p. 1000.

martyrian, ‘martyrizare’.
martyrologia, -an (martyrologium).
martyrologium.
martyrung, ‘passio martyris’.
oratio, exorcism.
pallium, str. m., pall.
pāpa, -an (papa).
patriarcha, -an, patriarch.
pæll, pell (pallium).
pistol (epistola).
propheta, -an, prophet.
rationale, rational.
reliquias, -e, (reliquiae).
sācerd (sacerdos).
Saducēisc, pl. *Saducēas, Saducie,* etc. (Sadducaeus).
Samaringas, plur. (Samaria + *-ing*).
Samaritan(*isc*) (Samaritanus).
sanct, sancte, sanctus, sancta.
stol, str. n., *stole, -an* (stola).
subdīacon (subdiaconus).
tunice, tonice (tunica).

§ 259. 2. Gallo-Roman.

abbod, abboda, -an (*abbad-em < abbatem).
abbodisse, abbudisse (abbatissa).
abbot and *abbutisse,* through influence of the Latin forms.
ælmesse (alimosina < eleemosyna).
biscopian (‘episcopare’ — 3rd period derivative of 1st period word).
biscopung, confirmation (3rd period derivative of 1st period word).
domne (dominus).
lǣwed (*laicatus < laicus).
mæsse (*messa < missa).
mæssere, mass-priest; cf. mæsse.
munecian (‘monachare’ — 3rd period derivative of 1st period word).
nunne (nonna).
seonoð, sionoð, etc. (synodus).

B. The Native Element: original material, but influenced by Christianity.

Words marked (†) could belong to **C**, a).

§ 260. *áeldo-mann* (pharisaeus).
(*ðā*) *áldo, ǽldo* (pharisaei, seniores).
áldor-mann (pharisaeus, pontifex).
áldo-wutu (cf. *éald-wita*; pharisaeus, senior).
áldra (senior, pharisaeus).
ándettere, ondettere (confessor).
ǽrendwreca, -raca (apostolus).
†*ǽwe-wéard* (sacerdos).
boda (propheta).
(*ðā*) *brōðor, ʒe-brōðor* (fratres monasterii).
ceorl, ceorl folc (laicus, laici).
cniht (discipulus).
cȳðēre (martyr).
cynna (gentiles).
†*duru-wéard* (ostiarius).
ðegn, ðēn (discipulus).
ðēoda (gentiles).
ðíngere (priest).
ðrōwere (martyr).
ðrōwung (passio).
ēadiʒ (beatus — properly 'wealthy').
éaldor (prior conventualis; decanus monasterii; senior).
éaldor-scipe (abbatia; decania).
éald-fæder (patriarcha).
éald-wita (presbyter; senior).
ē-swica (ethnicus).
fæder (pater monasterii; abbas).
ʒe-fēr (congregatio monasterii).
ʒe-fērrǽdenn (congregatio, ecclesia; congregatio monasterii).
ʒe-fērscipe (clerus; congregatio monasterii).
folgere (discipulus).
fōstring (discipulus).
framscipe (collegium monachorum).
(*ʒe-*)*ʒaderung* (congregatio, ecclesia; congregatio monasterii synagoga).

gāstlīc (spiritualis).
geat-wéard (portarius monasterii).
gíngra (discipulus).
Goda (proper name; formerly *'sacerdos'*).
hād (ordo; clerus).
† *hāliʒ* (sanctus).
hālsere (exorcista).
(ʒe-)hālsian, exorcise.
hālsiʒend (exorcista).
hālsung, exorcism.
hǣl (salus; salvatio).
hǣlnes (salus; sanctuarium).
hēah-fæder (patriarcha; archimandrita; pater excelsus, Deus).
heden (casula).
hīeremonn, hȳriʒmonn (discipulus; parochianus).
hírde (pastor).
hīwan, hīʒan, plur. (familia episcopi, clerus).
hīwrǣd, hīrēd (familia episcopi, clerus).
hīwrǣden (familia monasterii).
hōd (cappa, cope).
hórdere (cellarius monasterii).
hrægl (pallium archiepiscopale).
hūsl, Eucharist (properly 'sacrifice'; vid. Oxf. Dict. sub Housel).
hȳrnes (parochia).
(ʒe-)laðung (ecclesia).
lāruw [1]) (pharisaeus).
(ðā) ʒelēaffullan, -suman (fideles).
léornere (discipulus).
līoda (gentiles).
mōdor (mater monasterii, abbatissa).
ofer-brǣdels (amictus; superhumerale).
ofer-hacele (cucullus; cappa sacerdotalis).
ofer-slyp(e), -slop (alba; superpelliceum).
rǣdere, fem. *rǣdestre* (lector).
rihtwīsend (sadducaeus; part. to *rihtwīsian*).
ʒe-sǣlig (beatus; properly 'fortunate').
scearu (tonsura ecclesiastica).

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[1]) Cf. Kluge, D. Litteraturzeitung 1902 p. 1002.

scīr (parochia; diœcesis).
(*ȝe*-)*somnung* (ecclesia).
sóngere (cantor, precentor).
spelboda (propheta).
(*ðā*) *sweostor* (sorores monasterii).
(*sē*) *tēoða* (decima pars).
tēoðiȝan (decimare).
tēoðing-éaldor (decanus).
tēoðung (decimatio).
ūðwuta (pharisaeus; scriba).
únder-ðēodda, *-ðīedda* (discipulus).

C. New Formations.

a) Native.

Words marked (†) perhaps original.

§ 261. I. Period.
† *ǣwe-wéard* (sacerdos).
godspell (evangelium).
† *hālig* (sanctus).
hǣðen (paganus; later also Samaritanus).

§ 262. III. Period.
áldo ǣ-lārwas (pharisaei).
ān-būend (anachoreta, solitarius).
ān-setl (solitarii sedes).
ān-setla (solitarius, anachoreta).
ǣ-crǣftiȝ (pharisaeus).
ǣ-, *ǣs-lāruw*; *ǣ-lǣrend* (pharisaeus).
bescoren (*mann*), Tonsus; clericus.
ðrōwung-rǣding (martyrologium).
eaxl-clāð (humerale).
fulwian, fullian (baptizare).
fulwiht, fulluht (consignatio, baptismus).
fulwihtere, fulluhtere; *fulwihtwer* (Baptista).
ȝāstlīc folc (populus spiritualis, clerus).
Ȝodes ðēow(*a*) (minister Dei).
Ȝodes forboda (clericus; praenuntius Dei?).
Ȝodes mann (clericus; vir Dei?).
ȝodspelbōc, book of the Gospels.

ȝodspellere (evangelista).
ȝodspellian (evangelizare).
ȝodspellīc, -isc (evangelicus).
(ȝe-)hādian (ordinare).
(ȝe-)hādod mann (clericus, ordinatus).
hādung (ordinatio).
(ȝe)hālgian (consecrare).
hālgung (consecratio).
hāligdōm (sanctitas; sacramentum; sanctum; reliquiae; sanctuarium; ministerium sacrum).
hālignes (sanctitas; sanctuarium; reliquiae).
hāliȝ-reft, -rift (Velamen monialium).
hāliȝ-waras (sancti).
hāliȝ wrigels (Velamen monialium).
†*hánd-līn* (manipulus; originally napkin?).
hǣðendōm, -scipe, -nes (paganismus; gentilitas).
hǣðenisc (gentilis).
[*biscop-*] *hēafod līn* (infula).
hēah-scēawere (archiepiscopus).
hēah-sóngere (archicantator).
heorð-penig, Peter's Pence.
hrycg-hrægl (dorsale).
hūfian, Supply with the mitre (*hūfe*).
hūsl-ðegn, -ðēn (accolytus).
lār-cneht (discipulus).
lār-hlestend (auditor, catechumenus).
lǣring-mann (discipulus).
ge-lēafhlystend (auditor, catechumenus).
lēoht-(ȝe-)scot, Light-shot.
léorning-cniht (discipulus).
léorning-mann (discipulus, discipula).
nī(w)-cumena, -cumend (novitius).
nīw- (nīȝ-, nī-) cumen mann (novitius).
sāwl-sceatt, -scot, Soul-shot.
scúldor-hrægl (superhumerale).
súnder-hālga (pharisaeus).
sylf-dēma (Sarabaita).
tēoða sceatt, tēoðing-sceatt (decima).
túngol-wītga (astrologus).

wœx-berend (ceroferarius).
wēofod-ðegn (minister altaris).
wēsten-setla (eremita).
wīd-scriðul (gyrovagus).

b) Hybrids.

§ 263. III. Period.

abbod-dōm, -hād, -rīce (abbatia).
āncor-līf (anachoretica vita).
āncor-setl, -stōw (sedes anachoretica).
āncor-setla (anachoreta).
apostol-hād (apostolatus).
œlmes-feoh ('alimosinae pecunia').
biscopes hūf(e) (mitra episcopalis).
biscop-dōm, -hād (episcopatus).
biscop-hēafodlīn (infula).
biscop-hīwrǣd (familia episcopi, clerus).
biscop-rīce, -scīr (episcopatus; doecesis).
biscop-rocc (dalmatica episcopi).
biscop-seðl, -setl, -stōl (sedes episcopalis).
ciric-ðegn (minister ecclesiae).
ciric-ðíngere (advocatus ecclesiae; sacerdos).
ciric-hād (ordo ecclesiae).
ciric-sceatt (census ecclesiae).
ciric-wéard (custos ecclesiae).
clēric-hād (clericatus).
decan-hād (decania).
dēofol-wītga (vates diabolicus, magus).
dīacon-ðēnung, -hād (diaconatus).
dīacon-rocc (dalmatica diaconi).
éaldor-biscop (metropolitanus; princeps sacerdotum).
erce-biscop-hād (archiepiscopatus).
erce-biscop-rīce (archiepiscopatus; dioecesis).
erce-biscop-stōl (sedes archiepiscopalis).
erce-hād (archiepiscopatus).
erce-stōl (sedes archiepiscopalis).
hánd-prēost (cappellanus).
hēafod-biscop (princeps sacerdotum).
hēah-biscop (archiepiscopus).

hēah-dīacon (archidiaconus).
hīwrǣd-prēost (presbyter domesticus).
lǣwed folc (laici).
lǣwed mann (laicus).
lēod-biscop, Suffragan.
martyr-dōm, -hād (martyrium).
martyr ʒedōn, ʒemacian (martyrizare).
martyr-racu (martyrologium).
mæsse-ðegn, Mass-thane.
mæsse-ʒierela, -hrægl, -rēaf, Mass-vestments.
mæsse-hacele (casula), Chasuble.
mæssepreōst-hād (presbyteratus).
munuc-hād (monachatus).
mynster-mann (coenobita).
pāp-dōm, -hād, pāpan-hād (officium Papae).
pāp-setl, séld (sedes apostolica).
pistol-rǣdere (subdiaconus).
prēost-hād, -hēap, -hīred (sacerdotium; clerus).
prēost-scīr (parochia).
regol-wéard (praepositus = custos regulae).
riht-canonicus (canonicus regularis).
Rōm-feoh, -scot, Peter's Pence.
Rōm-penig (Denarius Sct. Petri).
sācerd-hād (sacerdotium).
scrift-bōc (confessionale).
scrift-scīr (provincia confessoris; parochia).
scrift-sprǣc (confessio).
sulh-ælmesse, Plow Alms.
tapor-berend (ceroferarius, accolytus).
únder-dīacon (subdiaconus).

c) Foreign.

§ 264. III. Period.

canter-cæppe for *cantel-cæppe* (?), Cantelcope.
erce-biscop (archiepiscopus).
mæsse-prēost (presbyter).
munuc-regol, Monastic order; convent.
mynster-fǣmne (monialis).
mynster-munuc (coenobita).

D. Minor Distinctions.

§ 265. Authors and Works.

ǣwe-wéard, Priest (Bl.).
biscpung (= **biscopung*), Confirmation (Wulf.).
ciric ðíngere, Priest (Glosses : Ælfric).
cȳðere, Martyr (Ælfric).
ðíngere, Priest (Glosses : Ælfric).
ge-fērscipe, Clergy (Bede).
folgere, Disciple (Ælfric).
framscipe, College of monks (Bede).
fulwihtwer, Baptist (Bl.).
hǣðenisc, heathenish (Oros.).
hēhfæder, Patriarch of the Church (Passio Scae. Marg.).
lǣringmann, Disciple (Ben. R.).
martyrung, Passion (Oros.).
nunne, Vestal Virgin (Oros.).
oratio (= *hālsung*), Exorcism (Bede).
pistol-rǣdere, Subdeacon (De C. M.).
prēost-hēap, Clergy (Gloss, 11th Cent.).
prēost-hīred, Clergy (Ald. Gloss.).
sacerdotum (dat. pl.) for *sācerdum* (Bede).

§ 266. Poetic.

ān-būend, Hermit (Gū.).
ǣ-lǣrend, Pharisee (El.).
ðrōwere, Martyr (also in North.).
mǣg, Woman.
mægð, Virgin, maid.

§ 267. Dialectical: Northumbrian-Mercian.

áeldo-menn, Pharisees (Lind.).
áldo ǣ-lārwas, Pharisees (Lind.).
áldor-menn, Pharisees.
áldo-wutu, Pharisees.
áldra, Pharisee.
ámbeht, Disciple (Lind.).
ǣ-cræftig, Pharisee (Lind.).
ǣ-lāruw, Pharisee.
ǽlde wearas, Pharisees (Rush.).

ǽldo (*ðā*), Pharisees.
ǣs-lārwas, Pharisees (Rush.).
bæstere, *bæzere*, etc., Baptist.
crīstnes, Christianity (Durham Admon.).
cynna, Gentiles.
ðrōwere, Martyr (North. or poetic).
émbihtmonn, Disciple (Lind.).
ēswica, Heathen (Lind.).
fōstring, Disciple (Lind.).
hāligwearas, Saints (Lind., D. Rit.).
hǣðin-monn, Samaritan.
hēah-scēawere, Bishop (D. Rit.).
heh-stáld, Virgin (Mary).
hrægl, Pall (D. Rit.).
hūsul (= *hūsl*), Sacrifice : Mt. XII, 7 (Lind.).
lārcneht, Disciple (Lind.).
lāruw, Pharisee (Rush.).
līoda, Gentiles.
oncræ, anchoret (Lind.).
postol, Apostol.
Samaringas, Samaritans (Rush.).
Stol, 'Stola', long robe (Lind. D. Rit.).
ūðwutu, Scribe; in Rush. also pharisee.

§ 268. **Of Time.**

Early O. E.

fǣmne, Virgin.
hǣðenes (Bede), Heathenism.
ðā ȝelēafsuman, The Faithful.

Late O. E.

confessor (for ándettere).
crīstendōm, Ecclesiastical privileges.
ȝe-fērrǣden, Congregation, church.
hǣðenscipe, The heathen world.
ȝe-laðung, Church.
léorning-cniht, Disciple (also rarely in Ælfred).
mǣden, Virgin.

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(The figures, unless otherwise indicated, refer to the paragraphs.)

**

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